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Saturday
28th June, 1952

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

OFFICIAL REPORT

(Part I - Questions and Answers)

CONTENTS

Members Sworn [Cols. 2—18].

PARLIAMENT SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

Dated.... 18.11.2.91

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Saturday, 28th June, 1952

The House met at a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Short Notice Question and Answer

U.N. AIR RAID ON KOREAN-MANCHURIAN BORDER

Shri Venkataraman: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to make a statement whether the United Nations forces in Korea have launched air raids on the power plants on the Korean-Manchurian border and the consequences of these air raids on world peace?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Yes. Air raids took place on power plants near and on the Korean-Manchurian border.

Government are not associated in any way with the military operations in Korea. They are anxious, however, that these operations should cease and that there should be a cease-fire leading to a settlement of the various problems at issue. Any possible extension of these military operations might imperil world peace. As is well known, attempts are being made to arrive at a satisfactory solution in regard to a cease-fire and truce in Korea and a good deal of progress in this direction has been made, though there still remain one or two problems to be solved. Any step taken that might come in the way of this settlement is most unfortunate and to be regretted.

Although Government are not participants in the Korean War, as a member nation of the United Nations an indirect responsibility rests upon them also in regard to any operations

conducted in the name of the United Nations, more especially when such operations might lead to an extension of the area of conflict. Government are disturbed at the thought that the future of the United Nations and of war and peace might be decided without proper consultation and might depend ultimately on the discretion of military commanders, who will naturally think much more of local military objectives than of larger questions affecting the world. The primary consideration, in the view of Government, should be the maintenance of world peace and, in Korea, a successful conclusion of the present talks on cease-fire and truce.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee *rose.*—

Mr. Speaker: No supplementary questions. When a statement is made, hon. Members have to consider it and then table any questions they wish to ask.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

LIMESTONE AND GYPSUM

*1295. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state whether any investigation of limestone and gypsum for manufacturing lime was carried out in the Gurdaspur District of Punjab State during the year 1951-52?

(b) If so, what was the result of the investigation?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): (a) and (b). The Director, Geological Survey of India, reports that a preliminary investigation of limestone and gypsum in the Gurdaspur district was carried out in the field season 1950-51 but was not continued during 1951-52. Limestone is found as boulders in (1) the

Chakki river bed, 3 miles east of Pathankote and (2) as a regular bed in the series of rocks between milestones 39 and 40½ along the Pathankote-Dalhousie road near Dunera Rest House. Samples were collected both from the Chakki river bed as well as from the road exposures. The analyses carried out by the Geological Survey of India show that in general the limestones are suitable for lime and cement manufacture, but as some portions are likely to contain high silica, detailed prospecting will have to be done before making any plans for an industry.

The Geological Survey of India discontinued the investigation on gypsum in the area because no information on the occurrence of this mineral in the area was available.

N. C. C.

***1296. Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state whether any new units of the National Cadet Corps were raised during the year 1951-52?

(b) If so, where?

(c) Whether any N.C.Cs. have been granted regular commission in the Indian Army during this period?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) Yes.

(b) One Air Squadron in Madras. One Independent Infantry Company at Palghat (Madras). One E.M.E. Section in the Institute of Science, Bangalore. Six Junior Division Troops in Travancore-Cochin. One sub-unit of Junior Division each in Rajkumar College, Raipur and Lawrence School, Sanawar.

(c) In 1951, 18 cadets of the Senior Division were selected, of whom 17 actually joined the National Defence Academy. 14 of these who have successfully completed the course have just been granted commission.

Scientific Man Power Committee

***1297. Shri S. C. Samanta:** (a) Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state how far the recommendations of the Scientific Man Power Committee have been implemented up-to-date?

(b) What led to the setting up of a Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. G. N. Mehta?

(c) Has the Sub-Committee commenced functioning?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): (a) A statement showing the action taken on the main recommendations of the Committee is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 43.]

(b) The Committee, known as the Technical Man Power Committee, has been appointed by the All India Council for Technical Education as in the opinion of the Council the conditions had changed so much since the assessment was made by the Scientific Man Power Committee previously that a review was called for.

(c) Yes.

Import of Capital Goods

***1298. Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that during the last three years, India has been receiving less capital and capital goods from foreign countries;

(b) whether production of consumers goods in India has decreased during this period; and

(c) what are the causes of decrease in production in India?

The Minister of Finance Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) During the last three years annual rate of inflow of foreign capital has increased. Import of capital goods showed a small decline in 1950 but has lately shown an improvement.

(b) In the industrial sector, except in the case of sugar and textiles, production of which declined in 1950, but improved in 1951, there has been a steady improvement in production of consumer goods during the last three years.

In the agricultural sector judging from available statistics foodgrain production was lower in 1950-51 and 1951-52, as compared to 1949-50. Production of cotton, jute and tea has, however progressively increased.

(c) Fall in production of textiles during 1950 was due partly to the labour strike in Bombay Mills and partly to shortage of raw materials. Lower sugar production during that year was also due to smaller supplies of sugarcane to the Mills. Decrease in production of food-grains in 1950-51 and 1951-52 was due to the abnormal climatic conditions.

BRITISH MANAGING AGENCIES

*1299. **Shri V. P. Nayar:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state the names of British Managing Agencies in India?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): Attention of the hon. Member is invited to the Statement which I place on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 44.]

Per Capita INCOME

*1300. **Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) what was the *per capita* income of the country in 1951-52; and

(b) how it compares with the *per capita* income of the three years preceding 1951-52?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) Estimates of the per *capita* income in 1951-52 have not yet been worked out.

(b) Does not arise.

I. A. A. S.

*1301. **Shri A. K. Gopalan:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) whether in the Rules governing the departmental examinations in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service for the purposes of confirmation of probationary officers there existed till the beginning of 1952 a subsidiary rule to the effect that an aggregate of 55 per cent. of qualifying marks should be obtained by a probationer except in the case of one paper in order to pass the first departmental examination;

(b) whether it is a fact that this rule was changed recently and given retrospective effect; and

(c) if so, how many probationary officers have been benefitted from this change in the rules?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) to (c). The rule for passing the First and the Second Departmental Examinations for Indian Audit and Accounts Service probationers is that the probationer should get not less than 40 per cent. in each of the subjects and not less than 50 per cent. in the aggregate, that is, total of all the subjects. This rule remains unchanged. There was a subsidiary rule, however, which enabled a probationer, who obtained in the First Departmental Examination qualifying marks in the aggregate and in all subjects except Precis and Draft, to proceed to the Second Departmental Examination if his aggregate in subjects other than Precis and Draft exceeded 55 per cent. on condition that he must reappear in that paper as well until he secured qualifying marks therein. The results of the First Departmental Examination held in December last being very disappointing, this percentage was lowered from 55 to 50 per cent. This will enable three probationers to sit for the Second Departmental Examination in July next along with the Precis and Draft paper for the First Examination. I might add for the Hon. Members' information that similar liberalisation in similar situations had been made in the past also. This does not, however, in any way affect the minimum percentage prescribed under the main rule which remains unchanged.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF NELLORE DISTRICT

*1302. **Shri Ramachandra Reddi:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Geological Survey in Nellore District (Madras State) has revealed the existence of copper of good quality and in good loads in Garimenapenta Village, Karali Taluk, Nellore District;

(b) if so, whether any steps were taken by Government to make a more intensive investigation and if so with what results; and

(c) if not, why not?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): (a) and (b). No, Sir. The Director, Geological Survey of India, reports that the examination of old workings of copper deposits and of reported copper deposits at Garimenapenta Village, Karali Taluk, Nellore District, by the Geological Survey of India indicates that there are no useful copper deposits at depth there.

(c) Does not arise.

INTEGRATION OF ARMED FORCES' MEDICAL SERVICES

*1303. **Shri Thirani:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that before the integration of the Medical Services of the Armed Forces, no separate Hospitals existed for each of the three Services;

(b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, what are the reasons for providing separate hospitals now; and

(c) whether there is any Station where there are two or three Armed Forces Hospitals?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) Yes.

(b) In order to provide facilities for hospital practice to medical officers employed in the Navy and the Air Force, and for the training of Naval ratings and airmen of the Medical Branches of the Navy and the Air Force, two hospitals, previously manned by Army Medical personnel have been transferred—one each to the Navy and the Air Force. Both the hospitals, however, attend to the members of all the three Services.

(c) Yes, only at Jodhpur, where there are two small hospitals, one for the Air Force and one for the Army. It is mainly due to lack of accommodation that it has not been possible to combine the two.

MILITARY OFFICERS

*1304. **Shri Thirani**: Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that all promotions, appointments and postings of officers of and above the rank of Colonel have to receive the prior approval of the Defence Minister?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): Yes, Sir.

हरिजन छात्रों का प्रवेश

*१३०५. **डा० सत्यवादी**: क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि साधारणतः सैनिक पदाधिकारियों के बच्चों को ही लारेंस स्कूल, सनावर, शिमला, पहाड़ी और लवडेल, नीलगिरि में प्रवेश मिलता है; और

(ख) गत वर्ष इन स्कूलों में हरिजन छात्रों की संख्या क्या थी ?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): (a) No, Sir.

(b) There were no Harijan students in these two Schools last year.

DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI

*1306. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi**: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to place on the Table of the House a copy of the systematic and co-ordinated Five Year Plan for the development and propagation of Hindi as described on page 2 of the Report of Activities during the year 1951-52 and programme for 1952-53, of the Ministry of Education and state:

(a) the names and designations, if any, of the personnel of the Board of Scientific Terminology in Hindi, as well as the Committee of Philologists which has been set up for the implementation of the plan;

(b) whether the consolidated Great English Indian Dictionary compiled by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira has come to the notice of Government and the committees;

(c) whether the five year plan as mentioned in part (a) above is confined to the activities of the Centre in this direction or contemplates to launch the scheme in States as well; and

(d) if so, the names of the States?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): (a) A copy of the Five Year Plan, in question, as well as a list of the members of the Board of Scientific Terminology and the Committee of Philologists is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 45.]

(b) Yes.

(c) and (d). The plan has been drawn up by the Government for the purpose of propagation and development of Hindi in the country as a whole but at present the stress is on its spread in the non-Hindi speaking areas. The co-operation of all the States has been sought in this work of national importance.

ITALIAN SCHOLARSHIPS

*1307. **Shri Ganpati Ram**: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of Italy has offered any scholarships to Indian students for studies in Italian Universities during 1951-52;

(b) if so, what are the qualifications required and what are the subjects for which the award is made; and

(c) the total value and period of award?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): (a) Yes.

(b) Students holding a Master's Degree are eligible. The scholarships are awarded for post-graduate work in Science, Arts, Education, Engineering or Technology.

(c) 42,500 lire a month for eight months in addition to 5,000 lire for transport expenses and University fees.

DIAMOND MINES IN ANANTAPUR DISTRICT

*1308. **Shri Viswanatha Reddy:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state whether the diamond bearing belt near Vajrakarur of Anantapur District has been thoroughly surveyed by the Geological Department?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): Yes, Sir.

CODIFICATION OF LAWS IN PART 'C' STATES

*1309. **Shri Ganpati Ram:** Will the Minister of **Law** be pleased to state;

(a) whether it is a fact that codification of State laws operative in the Part "C" States is, under the examination of the Ministry of Law of the Government of India and the respective State Governments; and

(b) whether it is a fact, that a large number of provincial statutes with or without modifications were extended to these States by means of notifications, published in the Government of India Gazette?

The Minister of Law and Minority Affairs (Shri Biswas): (a) Yes. The question of the compilation and publication of Codes containing the texts of all laws in force in Part C States (other than Central laws which extend to them as part of India) is at present under examination and the Government of India are in correspondence with the Governments of Part C States in this connection for collecting information regarding the various laws that are in force in those territories.

(b) Yes.

INDIANS TO BE SENT TO U.S.A.

*1310. **Shri N. B. Chowdhury:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) how many Indians will be sent to U.S.A. during the year 1952-53 under the Technical Co-operation Aid Agreement;

(b) what the method of selection would be; and

(c) what percentage of the cost would be borne by the Government of India?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) The matter is still under consideration.

(b) The selection is made by the Government of India Ministries and the State Governments with the assistance of selection committees wherever feasible.

(c) The cost to be borne by the Government of India would be only on internal transport and salaries of their own servants deputed for training.

MINERAL SURVEYS IN UTTAR PRADESH

*1311. **Shri B. N. Roy:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state what are the important mineral surveys undertaken during the last three years in the Kumaon region and the Vindhya Hill regions of Uttar Pradesh?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): A statement giving the information required is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 46].

EXEMPTION FROM INCOME TAX OF NON-PROFIT MAKING CONCERNS

*1312. **Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) whether all non-profit making concerns are exempted from the purview of Income Tax?

(b) whether sporting associations are liable to income tax; and

(c) whether it is a fact that the Cricket Association of Bengal is being charged income tax for the last eight years?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) If a concern in really non-profit-making in the sense that it does not make any income, no question of taxation liability would arise. Probably the hon. Member has in view a case where although some income is earned, there is no outside beneficiary to enjoy that income. Even in such a case, the income is liable to tax.

(b) Sporting associations are liable to tax in respect of all incomes except

these derived from amongst their members, *e.g.* affiliation fees, entry fees, membership fees, etc.

(c) Whether the Cricket Association of Bengal has been charged to Income Tax during the last 8 years can be ascertained only from their assessment records, but disclosure of any such information is prohibited under Section 54 of the Income Tax Act.

ATOMIC ENERGY

*1313. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state:

(a) the places in India where deposits of Uranium, Thorium and other minerals used in the production of atomic energy are available;

(b) for how long have the Indian Atomic Energy Commission been at work;

(c) whether the Commission have been able to find out ways and means of harnessing atomic energy for industrial and commercial purposes; and

(d) if so, what are the details, if any?

The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): (a) Thorium is contained in the monazite sands which are found on the West and East coast of India. Uranium is found in Bihar and other places in India. It is not in the public interest to disclose the exact localities where these are found.

(b) The Indian Atomic Energy Commission was set up in August 1948.

(c) and (d). Atomic energy has not been harnessed for the generation of industrial power in any country yet, but atomic-powered plants for ships and submarines are likely to be available soon. Atomic power for industrial purposes may be available within a decade. The Indian Atomic Energy Commission has put up proposals to the Government for setting up an atomic reactor in India.

SECRETARIAT PROCEDURE MANUAL

*1314. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** (a) Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state what are the main changes introduced in the Ministry of Finance in the procedure for the disposal of work at various levels in a speedy, efficient, and business like manner?

(b) Have they been incorporated in the Manual of Procedure for the Central Secretariat?

(c) Have these changes been enforced in other Ministries as well?

(d) Will a copy of the revised manual be placed on the Table of the House?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) The main changes are:—

(i) The dak, immediately on its receipt, is seen by the officers concerned who dispose of as many cases as they can at that stage and also give necessary instructions as regards the manner in which other cases should be dealt with;

(ii) In addition to their supervisory functions, the Superintendents (Section Officers) are required to deal with certain types of cases themselves;

(iii) Selected Assistants in each Section have been allowed to submit their work direct to Branch Officers conserned, instead of through the Section Officers;

(iv) Elimination of unnecessary noting by office Assistants.

(b) Yes.

(c) So far as I am aware, the main provisions in this regard are being generally followed in other Ministries.

(d) Yes, as soon as the Manual has been finalised and printed.

JUNIOR COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

*1315. **Shri Veeraswamy:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state whether there is a proposal before the Ministry of Defence to abolish the cadre of Junior Commissioned Officers and to introduce the cadre of warrant officers instead?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): No, Sir.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM

286. **Shri Krishna Chandra:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) the names of States where consumption of opium is in excess of the prescribed standards;

(b) whether these States have agreed to gradually cut down their requirements in order to come up to the prescribed standards; and

(c) if so, by what date?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) There are no prescribed standards for consumption of

opium except such as those laid down by the individual State Governments under their own excise and prohibition regulations, for users within their respective territories. Particulars are not available at the Centre.

(b) At the All-India Opium Conference, 1949, all the then Provinces and States agreed to the total elimination of the oral consumption of opium (*i.e.* consumption for purposes other than medical and scientific) by the end of March 1959 at the latest. Accordingly, with effect from 1949, supplies by the Government of India of opium to each individual State are being progressively reduced by 10 per cent. annually.

(c) By March 1959, supplies of opium to each State are expected to be reduced to nil. In 'Prohibition' States (*e.g.* Bombay, Madras and Assam) the non-medical consumption of opium is expected to be totally eliminated even earlier.

Defence Stores Imprest

287. Shri M. L. Dwivedi: Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have accepted the suggestion of the audit authorities for the restriction of the amount of imprest on the basis of actual immediate requirements;

(b) whether periodical verification of balance is being made by the officers of the Military Accounts Department; and

(c) if the answer to parts (a) and (b) above be in the affirmative, whether these have been brought into actual practice?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) to (c). Yes except that in the case of the Army the question in regard to periodical verification of balance is under active consideration.

Control over Expenditure

288. Shri M. L. Dwivedi: Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) whether necessary rules and regulations to ensure that spending Ministries exercise proper checks and show complete responsibility in the matter of budgeting and keeping control over expenditure, have been framed;

(b) if so, when were these rules enforced or are likely to be enforced; and

(c) whether a copy thereof can be placed on the Table of the House?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) to (c). I would invite attention to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 218 on the 19th June 1952. Some of the instructions are recent ones designed to secure improvement wherever this was necessary.

Estimates Committee

289. Shri M. L. Dwivedi: Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) the steps taken by the Government of India on the recommendations of the Estimates Committee contained in their fifth Report to the effect that there should be a specific machinery for ensuring full Parliamentary control over the various schemes and that an explanatory memorandum showing the nature of the scheme, the cost involved, the organisation proposed to undertake the work and other allied matters should be presented to Parliament along with the plans and further that whenever changes in the plans or estimates are required to be made, specific approval of Parliament should be obtained;

(b) whether positive motions seeking the approval of Parliament in all such matters are being brought before the House of the People; and

(c) whether sometime in the year has been set apart for the discussion of progress of work and other allied matters concerning the projects?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): The Fifth Report, 1951-52 of the Estimates Committee is still under consideration of the Government.

Recruitment to Armed Forces

290. Shri Ganpati Ram: Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state the percentage of Scheduled Castes recruited in 1948-49, 1949-50, 1950-51 and 1951-52 in the Army, Navy and Air Force?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): No separate statistics are maintained in the three services, since recruitment, whether of officers or of men, is made without any distinction of class or creed.

OPIUM

292. Shri M. Islamuddin: Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) the amount of revenue received from opium cultivation in India in 1949-50, 1950-51 and 1951-52;

(b) the quantity produced and consumed in India in each of these years;

(c) the quantity exported to foreign countries (country-wise) in each of the aforesaid years; and

(d) the amount of export duty realised in each of these years?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) No revenue, except as profits on exports of opium to foreign countries, is derived by the Government of India. The Central Government does not share in the revenue realised from opium by State Governments to whom supplies are made by the Central Government on a "no profit—no loss" basis.

Profits made on the exports to foreign countries are as follows:

Opium year	Rupees
1949-50	41,62,481
1950-51	92,21,663
1591-52	Figures not yet available.

(b) The quantities produced and consumed in India are as follows:

Opium year	Quantity produced Mds.	Quantity consumed Mds.
1949-50	11,962	3,938
1950-51	14,389	3,564
1951-52	Figures not yet available.	

(c) A statement showing the required information is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 47].

(d) There is no export duty on opium.

TEMPORARY SERVICE RULES

293. Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Temporary Service Rules can be applied against a person who has been put on the nominal rolls of *quasi*-permanent staff; and

(b) what is the number of persons who have been discharged by application of Rule 5 of Civilians in Temporary Service Rules 1949?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) Yes.

(b) 13.

ELECTION TRIBUNALS

294. Shri C. N. P. Sinha: Will the Minister of **Law** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of persons State-wise, disqualified in recent general elections, and the seats declared vacant as a result thereof; and

(b) the number of tribunals appointed for the disposal of cases of appeals State-wise?

The Minister of Law and Minority Affairs (Shri Biswas): (a) the number of persons disqualified State-wise upto the 20th June, 1952, is as follows:

Name of the State	Total No. of Persons disqualified
Assam	31
Bihar	491
Bombay	411
Madhya Pradesh	993
Madras	308
Orissa	197
Punjab	149
Uttar Pradesh	128
West Bengal	187
Hyderabad	112
Madhya Bharat	240
Mysore	169
PEPSU	131
Rajasthan	95
Saurashtra	96
Travancore-Cochin	231
Ajmer	70
Bhopal	43
Bilaspur	1
Coorg	8
Delhi	285
Himachal Pradesh	57
Kutch	19
Manipur	31
Tripura	68
Vindhya Pradesh	140

No seat was declared vacant till the 20th June, 1952.

(b) this part of the question is not clear. Presumably the information required is in respect of the tribunals appointed by the Election Commission for the disposal of election petitions; if so the number of tribunals appointed, State-wise upto the 18th May, 1952 is as follows:

Name of the State	No. of Election Tribunals appointed	No. of Election Petitions referred for trial
Assam	4	5
Bihar	..	..
Bombay	8	9
Madhya Pradesh	1	1
Madras	7	7
Orissa	1	1
Punjab	19	19
Uttar Bradesh	..	..
West Bengal	1	1
Hyderabad	..	..
Madhya Bharat	2	2
Mysore	..	..
PEPSU	2	3
Rajasthan	..	..
Saurashtra	2	2
Travancore-Cochin	2	2
Ajmer	..	
Bhopal	..	..
Bilaspur	1	1
Coorg	..	..
Delhi	3	3
Himachal Pradesh	4	4
Kutch		..
Manipur	..	..
Tripura	..	..
Vindhya Pradesh	..	..

DEFENCE SERVICES PUBLICITY ACTIVITIES

295. **Shri C. N. P. Sinha:** (a) Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state the amount spent on publicity activities of Defence Services in 1950, 1951 and the proposed expenditure in 1952?

(b) How much amount is being spent on Army, Navy and Air Force activities separately?

(c) Is there any scope for economy?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): (a)—

1950-51	Rs. 6,85,000
1951-52	Rs. 6,82,000
1952-53 (Estimate)	Rs. 6,91,000

(b) As this expenditure is incurred by an Inter-Services Organisation, it is not possible to give separate figures for the three Services.

(c) I am not yet in a position to give any positive answer to this question.

INCOME-TAX

296. **Shri C. N. P. Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state the Income-Tax collected in Part 'B' States in 1950-51 and 1951-52 State-wise?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) A statement giving the required information is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VI, annexure No. 48].

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO AUSTRALIA

297. **Shri Gopala Rao:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state how much expenditure was incurred on preparations for providing escort by our Navyship on the proposed visit (later on cancelled) of Princess Elizabeth (now H.M. the Queen) to Australia.

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): No extra expenditure was incurred on preparations for providing escort by our Naval ships on the proposed visit of H.M. the Queen to Australia.

IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTION

298. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) the amount of loan sought by India from the World Bank for the expansion of iron and steel production in India;

(b) whether Government have formulated any specific plan in this connection;

(c) whether the loan, if granted, is to be advanced to the steel producing

companies direct or to the Government of India;

(d) what are the prospects of setting up of blast furnaces for the production of iron and steel at Government level consequently upon the availability of the loan; and

(e) whether it is likely that America or any other foreign country may participate in case a Government-sponsored Iron and Steel Project is undertaken?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) It is not the usual procedure to ask the International Bank for any definite amount of loan for any particular project at the outset. Accordingly, no specific amount has been sought as loan from the International Bank for the expansion of iron and steel production in India. The amount will be negotiated after the Bank Mission, which is now in India, has submitted its report.

(b) Government have formulated certain proposals and these are now being discussed with the Bank Mission.

(c) The point whether the loan would be advanced to the steel producing companies direct or to the Government of India will also be a matter of negotiation with the Bank after the submission of the report by the Bank Mission.

(d) and (e). Government are exploring the possibilities of setting up a Government-owned unit for the production of iron and steel with the assistance of a loan from the International Bank and in collaboration with some existing steel manufacturer who would be willing to participate. It is too early to express an opinion about the prospects of such a project materialising.

RELIGIOUS TEACHERS FOR FORCES

299. Shri Veeraswamy: Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether religious teachers are employed in the Armed Forces;

(b) if so, what are the various religious subjects that are taught to the Forces;

(c) the number of such teachers and their scales of pay; and

(d) the total amount spent in 1951-52 on these teachers and the total amount allotted for this year?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) Religious teachers are employed in the Army but not in the Navy and the Air Force.

(b) Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and Christian religious teachers have been employed in the Army.

(c) The actual number of religious teachers employed is not available as separate statistics by classes of employment of personnel are not maintained. The number of religious teachers authorised however, as on 31st May, 1952 on a unit basis was:—

Pandits	445
Maulvis	8
Granthis	88
TOTAL	541

The number of *padrees* employed is not available, as they are employed on a station basis where the number of a particular denomination warrants it. Their pay is Rs. 100 p.m.

Pay of religious teachers other than *padrees* is Rs. 35 to Rs. 45 p.m.

(d) Separate figures of expenditure on religious teachers are not compiled, nor is budget provisions made for categories of personnel separately.

GENERAL ELECTIONS

300. Shri Nana Dass: Will the Minister of **Law** be pleased to state:

(a) what was the total number of voters (for the last general elections) among the personnel of our Armed Forces;

(b) how many of them were issued with ballot papers; and

(c) how many of them exercised their franchise?

The Minister of Law and Minority Affairs (Shri Biswas): (a) to (c). The information is not available with the Election Commission and will be collected and laid on the Table of the House in due course.

COMMISSIONS IN THE INDIAN ARMY

301. Shri Buchhikotaiah: (a) Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state the total number of Commissions granted during the last year?

(b) How many were granted to persons from the ranks?

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): (a) 489.

(b) 25.

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THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Saturday, 28th June, 1952

The House met at a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

8-19 A.M.

GENERAL BUDGET—DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

Mr. Speaker: We now take up the discussion on the Demands for Grants —Ministry of Law—and the cut motions.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): Some time ago, when I happened to find myself unfortunately on the wrong side of what sometimes passes for law in this country, I was told by a High Court Judge quoting from precedent, that those who live by the law should abide by it. Now, this had reference to a distant and almost forgotten association with the profession of law which I had followed. But when I tried to read some material in regard to discussions about the Law Ministry in this House in earlier sessions, I found that those who are the makers of law in this country are hardly interested in the affairs of the Ministry of Law. I suppose the Ministry of Law, like Cinderella, is very useful from certain points of view. It does a good deal of useful housework. But I am sure that the Law Ministry has not come forward to act in the fashion which is necessary if the Ministry is going to perform the role which is naturally its own. I say this, and I am fortified in this statement by the very modest report which has come from the Ministry of Law regarding its activities. I find to this Ministry is tagged on the Ministry for Minority Affairs. Now, this Ministry for Minority Affairs appears to my mind to be a sort of euphemism. It is neither fish nor flesh, and we have as yet no idea of the working of this Ministry. Now, obviously the Ministry for Minority Affairs is considered by Government of such infinitesimal importance that one has to wade through the dullest pages of the budgetary figures and discover at the end of it, somewhere in the long list of items associated with the Home Ministry, that there is some provision for the Ministry of Minority Affairs. Now, if we were vouchsafed what is called the "Vishwaroop Darshan" of the Home Ministry, we might get some cogent and concrete idea of what this Ministry for Minority Affairs is trying to do.

This Ministry of Minority Affairs was the child of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 1950. It was born in pain and it seems to me to live in trouble. I do not want to say anything which is going to embarrass our Government regarding the solution of a problem which is of paramount importance to the interests of our country, but I do want to say that any effort which our Government is going to make in the present context of things regarding the solution of minority problems is almost bound to fail, because inevitably as long as the crime of partition is not expiated we have to go through a certain process of difficulty. Now, I say this was a crime, because partition was the price which was exacted by British imperialism before it theatrically transferred power to certain people in this country, and those people to whom power was transferred were perhaps afraid of the people's move-

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

ment like the plague, and the British wanted to come to some sort of understanding in their own interests, and as a result a gesture of some sort had to be made to ensure the continuation of their objective power in this country, and at the same time they wanted to make a dramatic gesture of withdrawal from this country. And as a result of the compromise which was arrived at, we find that partition had to be agreed to. This was a very serious matter. So, unless fundamental solutions are attempted, we shall never get a solution of the minorities problem. We shall never find that the minorities living in India and Pakistan would really come to believe that these two countries are catering for their interests. The common and urgent needs of the people of India and Pakistan have not been satisfied. We have to proceed on the basis of providing economic amelioration at any rate, if we cannot make immediate economic progress in the two countries; we have at least got to get out of the meshes of the Anglo-American imperialist net. But we have not done that, and as a result of it we find that the minorities problem remains absolutely unsolved.

Now, the minorities neither in India nor in Pakistan are today in a happy state of mind. I know that India treats her minorities much better than Pakistan does. There is no doubt about it. But at the same time there is no getting away from the fact that the minorities in these two countries live in fear and trembling as to what will happen. It is no good merely saying all the time that the boot is on the other leg and that Pakistan is the sinner every time. That is not the entire state of affairs, and I think that a realisation of this is very necessary if we are going to have a proper solution of the minority affairs problem.

When I am on this subject, I should like to refer to what has been happening in Kashmir. In Kashmir, it is only on the basis of certain tangible, concrete reforms which the people can understand that we can get a predominantly Muslim area coming willingly, almost jubilantly, into association with the Indian Union. In Kashmir it is an attack on feudal vested interests which alone makes the people amenable to the idea of voluntarily being desirous of association with the Indian Union. If we tackle things in the proper way, if we bring about economic progress, then I am sure the people would behave in such a fashion that the present-day miasma of communal thinking would be removed and we shall get a real solution of the communal problem. Now the hon. Minister for Minority Affairs however is not in a position to do anything at all about it. He can only go about from place to place and lay down a few formulae but he cannot bring effective relief. The minorities in Pakistan are suffering under very serious disabilities which are going to be accentuated as a result of the introduction of the passport system and so many other enormities. But he is not in a position, I am afraid, to do anything and our Government is also not really in a position to do anything about it. So the problem about minorities in this country as well as in Pakistan is not being tackled properly and I submit it cannot be tackled properly till our Government makes up its mind that certain fundamentals have got to be accepted and certain basic changes in policy have got to be introduced and only on that basis can we get real friendship between India and Pakistan. Only then we can find a solution to the minority problem in both the countries. The Law Ministry, however, is at present preoccupied with adapting the present laws to the provisions of the Constitution. I wish the hon. Minister for Law joy in this work but I would also ask: What about the more important jobs which need to be tackled immediately? I find for example that certain legislation has been proposed so that things can be brought in line with the provisions of our Constitution. I am very happy that the hon. Prime Minister is here this morning and I want to refer him to what he said the day before yesterday in regard to Kashmir. He said in regard to the fundamental rights which are laid down in our Constitution that there is one item in those fundamental rights which he does not like at all nor does the movement which he represents accept that particular provision in the fundamental rights. This provision is in regard to the compulsory payment of compensation to vested interests which must be also adequate in accordance with the views held by our judiciary. Well, this provision makes it impossible for us to adopt those agrarian policies which in Kashmir have produced results. Now the Prime Minister said very courageously that he personally felt that he could not possibly impose this particular item of our fundamental rights on the people of Kashmir. Necessarily the inference is that he does not like that particular item in our fundamental rights to remain. Now I would like to say that when a Prime Minister of our country who has the unstinted backing of the party in majority in Parliament makes a statement of this sort, it

ought to be followed up immediately by the Law Ministry taking measures in order to bring up legislation which would remove this anomaly and which may make our fundamental rights really in the interests of the people, I would expect the Law Ministry to go straight forward to the job of formulating those particular legal provisions which are necessary if we are going to move in the directions which were indicated by the Prime Minister. Now I think this is a very important matter and I draw attention not only of the Law Minister but also of the hon. Prime Minister on this point.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): May I know from the hon. Prime Minister...

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I would also like to refer to the time honoured subject of the separation of judiciary from the executive. Now the shadow of the executive is to be seen not only at lower levels but also very much higher up and reference to that was made yesterday in the speeches made particularly by my hon. friend Mr. Chatterjee. Now we find that it is not only at lower levels but even at the level of High Court Judges that this spectre of executive domination is there. I am referring to certain statements which were made authoritatively by the spokesmen of Government when the Preventive Detention Act was brought into the Statute Book. Actually I remember in 1950 in Calcutta High Court when certain *habeas corpus* proceedings were pending—by a process of expedition almost without precedent in the history of legislation—the Preventive Detention Act was pushed through this Legislature in order to circumvent the action of the Judiciary in a particular manner. Now I have seen also and I am sure many other Members must have noticed the unprecedented spectacle of High Court Judges hob-nobbing with the members of the executive in such a fashion that a few years ago—I think about two or one and a half years ago—the Calcutta Bar had to pass a specific resolution suggesting that the High Court Judges should not hob-nob with the executive in the fashion that they did. I think this is due to certain factors one of which is that the High Court Judges are to retire at the age of 60 years. Naturally a feeling comes in their mind as to what is going to happen after their retirement at the age of 60. And there are certain jobs in the hands of the Central Government—jobs in Appellate Tribunals and things like that. I know of cases of very upright Judges actually feeling the utmost consternation about their future after retirement and here is the Damocles' sword of retirement and the bait in the form of jobs which you can get after superannuation and I have known of Judges who have actually been constrained to try to get these appointments. This is extremely undesirable and this is a kind of thing which I am sure ought to be prevented. Now the 60 years rule is there for the High Court Judges. If the Supreme Court Judges can retire at the age of 65, there is no reason why High Court Judges should be made to retire at 60. Therefore, either one rule or the other is wrong. I will therefore request the Government to do something about it.

Then there is the question of a Unified Bar and the Law Ministry has referred it to a committee which has been appointed. That Committee should have reported by the 1st June, 1952 but it has not done so. Now in regard to the Unified Bar there are a hell of a lot of problems which cannot be solved very easily. It is not easy to lay down uniform rules for lawyers practising in High Courts and in revenue Courts or before honorary magistrates. Now I would suggest: let us not worry ourselves about these "difficult" problems—the problems which in the old bureaucratic fashion are going to take a lot of our time. Let us on the other hand proceed to more important measures. Let us not appoint Committees which will like the mountain in labour produce the proverbial mouse. But let us proceed to provide legal aid to the poor litigants which is extremely inadequate. Let us try to bring about not only such changes as the abolition of zamindaris by relevant amendments in the Constitution but let us also try to bring about law reform to help the poor and common people of this country. After all law to the common man is such that Shakespeare said it was an ass. Lawyers to the common man have represented reaction and obscurantism. And it is due to this that in the Peasants' Revolt, Jack Cade, again according to Shakespeare, said: "Let us go and kill all the lawyers." Reaction in its rankest form has continued in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, and we have tried to tag on to it the subtleties of Hindu Muslim jurisprudence. After all the people, the common people cannot understand and grasp all these things. They want real law reform in the direction in which they need to move. In France, long ago, they had the Code Napoleon, which was adapted in modern Turkey when big things happened there. I am sure big things are going to happen to this country whether we like it or not. Let us also proceed in a big way as far as the Law Ministry is concerned. In new

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China I am told by one member of the delegation that has just returned that there are no contractors and no lawyers. I am very glad to see that the Home Minister is applauding my statement. I hope he would be very happy when there are no lawyers in this country. Perhaps in China there are some lawyers but of a different hue, because the law of the people there is something very different. The principle of law there is something which can be grasped by the common man. Now that we are trying to get over feudalistic and capitalistic features of our social organisation, it is necessary for us to do something in the matter.

In regard to this point I would also refer to one other matter. I am sure that our Government is very keen and is really very serious about the introduction of Hindi as the national language. Now I find in the evidence of the Calcutta Bar before the All India Bar Committee a statement which I verified later. It says that "by article 343 the Constitution recommends that the national language Hindi should become the official language within a period of 15 years but article 348 which deals with court language does not prescribe any time limit. This distinction is very wise and it appears to have been made deliberately." Now the Calcutta Bar is in favour of the continuation of English. I am not in favour of continuation of English for all time as the language of our courts, but if we are not going to simplify our legal procedure, if we are citing English Reports and so on and so forth, if we are going to stick to Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence plus whatever embellishment we could offer from our side, then I am sure we are not going to get it into Hindi or anything out of it. Especially when the "Parantoo" school of Hindi is in the ascendant you are not going to get anywhere. During the Muslim period certain technical expressions had got into common currency—we are doing away with them altogether. That is to say, we are again trying to complicate the whole law and the procedure, and if we are doing this either we do not mean business in regard to Hindi or we shall never get Hindi as the court language of this country if we are going to adhere to Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence in the present form. So Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence plus our Indian variations should I think be relegated to museums for academic study but should no longer cumber our Statute Books, should no longer cumber the life of our country.

I should submit in conclusion that vast changes are in the offing, new socio-economic relations are coming into existence, have already to a certain extent come into being. A new law is therefore absolutely essential, but we do not do anything about it. In the meantime the Law Ministry goes on adding appointments—Attorney-Generals to Solicitor-Generals and so on and so forth. They go on drafting laws in the same old bad way, they go on complicating procedure, they maintain the mystery of the law, and the shackles of obscurantism and reaction they maintain and consolidate in a fashion which I am sure we should not tolerate for any length of time.

Mr. Speaker: I think both the Ministers are going to reply. What time would they require?

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): So far as I am concerned, ten to twelve minutes.

The Minister of Law and Minority Affairs (Shri Biswas): If I am going to reply to all the points made by the hon. Members I require at least half an hour.

Mr. Speaker: That means I must call upon the hon. Minister.

Dr. Katju: May I respectfully suggest to my hon. friends opposite that when they speak they have a little consideration for consistency? I heard this morning something with which I am very familiar: A deprecation of law and lawyers and an appeal for their destruction. But I am certain that within a few days when the House will be called upon to consider another Bill there will be a huge cry from that side against detention without trial and an opportunity to defend oneself with the aid and counsel of lawyers.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Fighting with your own weapons.

Dr. Katju: And may I remind you that in the Meerut conspiracy case the accused took exactly two and a half years to defend themselves with the aid of lawyers of varying kinds of intelligence and talents before the Sessions Judge? So when the time comes, when Members opposite are in the dock—I may be in the dock but I do not expect to be defended by any lawyer when my time comes, but if their time comes, if it does ever come—they will try to take the fullest opportunity of all forensic talent of all possible description and then they will not say that lawyers should be killed and slaughtered.

It is very easy to say that there should be no hob-nobbing of Judges. I entirely agree, but I have heard on good authority that in countries with which most of my hon. friends opposite have spiritual affiliation the Judges are a part of the Executive Administration, they are members of the Cabinet. And so far as trials are concerned, they are not trials in courts —they are trials in market places and trials by radio and by telephone; evidence is heard by telephone and verdicts are conveyed by telephone by Judges who never hear the case.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): It is a people's court.

Dr. Katju: That is what I said, that people's courts are not the courts where Judges do not hob-nob with the Executive. When my learned friends rise again let them have a little regard for consistency and not speak for the moment and try to make a sort of a fleeting impression. It has no effect whatsoever.

I do not want to encroach upon the sphere of my hon. friend, the Law Minister because it is his day, so with this preamble I should like to refer only to two or three points. I was rather astonished to hear my hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee. I thought he was the embodiment of constitutional law and the first thing that he ought to know is that the Cabinet owes joint responsibility. There is no such thing as a Ministry of Law or a Ministry of Home Affairs or a Ministry of Defence—for every decision on policy or any important administrative matter, before this House the whole Cabinet is responsible. As to how the internal matters should be arranged is really a matter for the Prime Minister and Members of this House need not bother themselves very much as to how the internal economy in this family of Cabinet is administered. The whole question is whether the management is such as gives you satisfaction and appeals to you as just and efficient.

Something was said about appointments of Judges. I do not know what was the impression carried: As if the Ministry of Home Affairs was a sort of dictator in this matter and if the Ministry of Law were to take charge of that a new heaven and a new earth would come into being. I was really astonished when I thought that my hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee completely overlooked the provisions of article 217 of the Constitution which prescribes that—

> "Every Judge of a High Court shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal after consultation with the Chief Justice of India."

Please remember, "after consultation with the Chief Justice of India."—

> ".....the Governor of the State, and, in the case of appointment of a Judge other than the Chief Justice, the Chief Justice of the High Court."

A Judge of a High Court is one of the most important officers in the State and the Constitution itself takes care that two of the highest judicial officers should be consulted, namely the Chief Justice of the High Court of the particular State concerned, and over and above all the Chief Justice of India, and the Governor of the State which means the Governor himself and the Chief Minister or the Cabinet there. The appointment of a Judge of a High Court is not a light and easy matter. It is not disposed of on arbitrary considerations which might prevail over there, or the way in which Judges could be appointed.....

An Hon. Member: People's court.

Dr. Katju: Yes, the new heaven dawns—the people's court. I do not know how they function but here we take it as a very solemn matter and whether it is the Ministry of Law or the Ministry of Home Affairs it is really an administrative process and the decision is taken almost on the Cabinet level.

That is one thing. The second thing which I found to which reference has been made is the separation of judicial and executive functions. It is some thing really like "co-operative farming", something which is very widely used without proper understanding. Similarly this beautiful phrase of "separation of judicial and executive functions"—if I were to ask—I have not got the time nor the inclination to ask—hon. Members opposite, what exactly do they mean by that phrase? So far as the Constitution is concerned there is a special directive under article 50 that there should be a separation of judicial and executive functions. And I know for a fact that in practically all State Governments there is complete separation of these functions already achieved, or they are moving fast towards it. You may be interested to hear that in Hyderabad, for instance, there is already a complete separation of the judicial and executive functions. It only means this much and nothing more, so far as I understand, namely, the investigating authority the police, should not have the least influence, direct or indirect, over persons called upon to decide cases. They should not be under the direct control of the executive authority. But

[Dr. Katju]

ultimately, in the final analysis, it really comes to a man's character, the temperament and character of the magistrate or the judge concerned. In a republic, the source of all power of appointment must be lodged in the President or the Governor, acting on their constitutional advisers. Every Judge or magistrate cannot be appointed by somebody outside the Republic, he has got to be appointed by someone inside the Republic. The only point, therefore, is that when you come to an appointment made, then it is up to the magistrate or the Judge to say to himself: "Now I have become almost a demi-God and it behoves me, come what may, to act according to the judicial oath which is administered to Judges and I shall administer justice impartially without fear or favour, affection or ill-will".

Whenever you hear complaints of miscarriage of justice on this score, take it from me—I am speaking from experience of forty years—it is due not so much to the system as to the faulty structure of the individual himself. There is an old classical story which I heard when I joined the bar, of a deputy magistrate in Ghazipur—that is the story of about 1886—who became a terror to his District Magistrates and Commissioners because he would not mind what they said. You have cases on the other side where in anticipation of favours or sheer timidity or cowardice of spirit a Judge or magistrate falls from the high standard. Therefore, I should like to assure the House that the directive which is embodied in the Constitution on this point is always before every State Government and before the Central Government and we shall take every possible step to see to it that our judges and magistrates are really independent and they are not exposed to any risk in which their independence might be tampered with. Do not be carried away by these things of their hob-nobbing with the executive, that they go to social clubs and they talk on equal terms. You do not want to make your Judges *pardanashin* ladies and live lives of isolation. It is a question of temperament—I repeat it once again.

Lastly there was some comment made on the appointment of a retired Judge to a Governorship. I do not know really what hon. Members feel. Do you mean to say that a Judge or an individual who occupies the highest position in this Republic on the Supereme Court, when he is sitting there, would allow his judgement to be swayed one way or the other on the off-chance that after this retirement he might be considered for Governorship or some other job? I should have thought—speaking for myself, I am not expressing the Cabinet's opinion, I am speaking on the spur of the moment—that for a Governorship of a province a Judge or a retired Judge might be the most suitable individual, because what you require in a Constitutional Governor is a man who by past environment should be able to lead a completely detached life, who when he goes to the province to which he is assigned should be in his conduct above all parties, should be above all suspicion and should have no political affiliations.

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): Who should be considered a *pardanashin* lady?

Dr. Katju: This is the first time that I have had the opportunity of talking to the hon. Member opposite. Therefore, I refrain from giving a suitable answer; but let him reflect.

I should have thought that a retired Judge would make an ideal Governor. But sometimes it happens that the opposition exists for the sake of opposition. Whatever we do on this side—if it is white appears to be black; if it is grey it may appear to be brown. That is all I have to say.

Shri Biswas: There is not much time left for me. I shall try to deal with the points which have been raised by hon. Members opposite.

Some reference has already been made by my hon. colleague the Home Minister to the comments which came from my hon. friend Mr. Chatterjee. So far as I am personally concerned, I sympathise with the feeling to which he has given expression. It is not as if one hon. Minister rather than another is in a better position to deal with certain matters. The question is, as lawyers have said, it is not enough that justice should be done, but that people should feel that justice is being done, and the occasions on which criticism has been expressed because of too great an intimacy between the judiciary and the executive are not rare. There was a time—that is the tradition of the Calcutta High Court—when the Chief Justice would not approach the precincts of Government House. You might say that represents an extreme position. But if it is an extreme position, it is an extreme position in the right direction, because there might be an extreme position in the other direction, which would not be for the good of the State.

As a matter of fact, the independence of the judiciary is of vital importance to the working of the machinery of Government. The State will not be what it should be, if there was any suspicion that the judiciary might be amenable to any influence of the executive. That is a principle which ought always to be kept in view and nothing should be left undone to promote that feeling and that impression in the public mind. We cannot be too careful about ensuring the independence of the judiciary in every matter and in every way. That is my personal opinion. But I am quite free to admit that it is after all immaterial whether—so far as the appointment of High Court judges is concerned—it is done by one particular Minister or by another. As my hon. colleague has reminded the House, the appointment of High Court Judges, the appointment of Supreme Court Judges, has been secured in a very sound and satisfactory manner by the Constitution itself. So, there is hardly any chance of anything to which reasonable objection can be taken. Look at the facts as they have turned out. There has not been a single occasion on which any appointment made by the Home Minister since independence has been called in question. That itself shows that from the practical point of view it makes little difference whether the appointment is made by the Home Minister or the Law Minister. After all the Home Minister or the Law Minister, whoever may be responsible for it, has to make his recommendation or give his advice to the President. Under the Constitution the President is to be guided by the advice and opinion of the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned and the Chief Justice of India. There may be other matters, however, apart from these appointments, which might appropriately be allocated to one Ministry rather than to another. But that is an administrative matter which can be, and possibly will be, taken into account when a re-allocation of business is made. But I do not think that any very important or momentous constitutional issue ought to be built up on that. That is what I feel about this matter.

Then there were references made yesterday to the question of a Law Revision Committee. I may assure my hon. friends on the other side that Government are not unmindful of their responsibility in this respect. The hon. Member, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, referred to the necessity of revising our laws so as to bring them into conformity with the Constitution, and he referred to article 13. Article 13 says that existing Statutes which are inconsistent with or contradictory to the provisions of the Constitution are void. You may take them to the court and have a judgment there. The executive also may take action and declare certain Statutes to be void. There is another article to which reference was not made, but I am quite sure Mr. Chatterjee had that in view. That is article 372. There it is expressly provided in clause (2) that "for the purpose of bringing the provisions of any law in force in the territory of India into accord with the provisions of the Constitution, the President may by order make such adaptations and modifications of such law, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as may be necessary or expedient." Action under this has been taken already. I can give you a list of Statutes which have been declared to be incompatible with the Constitution, and modified, or abrogated. As regards certain Statutes which, on the face of them, seem to be against the Fundamental Rights, action was purposely withheld by the Law Ministry, because doubts were entertained whether particular Statutes really contravened the Fundamental Rights, and, therefore, it was thought necessary or prudent to await the judgment of the Supreme Court in regard to such matters. So, action was suspended in respect of those Statutes. Having regard to those special considerations action was not taken. It is difficult to say in advance what view the Courts would take about the scope of those enactments. It was therefore thought that it would not be advisable to modify the provisions of any of those laws.

There is article 13(1) under which if any law was void, it would be declared to be void. Apart from that, certain matters have already been dealt with under article 372(2). For instance, the Central and Provincial laws were examined in the Ministry of Law, and the Part A State Governments were also asked simultaneously to undertake the work, with particular reference to Provincial laws. It was subsequently found, however, that the Provincial Governments could not finish the work in time. Our object was to finish this work between the passing of the Constitution and the date of commencement of the Constitution. Action was taken at the Centre, but the Provinces could not comply with the request in time. The Adaptation of Laws Order was passed in 1950 which contained general adaptations to all Indian laws and detailed adaptations with regard

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to Central laws. This was issued on the 26th January, 1950—the date of commencement of the Constitution. Two subsequent Amending Orders were issued during 1950. The first was on the 5th June, 1950 and the second on the 4th November, 1950. The first, besides making certain minor and non-essential amendments to the principal Order of the 26th January, 1950, also contained detailed adaptations with regard to certain laws in force in Madras and Bombay. The second amendment rectified a mistake which had inadvertently crept into the original Adaptation Order. And a third Adaptation Order was issued on the 4th April, 1951, containing detailed adaptations with regard to laws in force in all Part A States except Madras and Bombay. That is the position.

9 A.M.

This task of adapting the laws with a view to bringing them into conformity with the Constitution is part of a wider problem, and I may here refer to the question of appointment of a permanent Statute Revision Committee to deal with this matter. Well past experience in this respect did not afford much encouragement. In 1921 there was a Statute Revision Committee appointed by the then Government with Sir Alexander Muddiman as Chairman, and Sir Henry Moncrief Smith and our late lamented Dr. Hari Singh Gour among others as Members. But it did not make much headway. The achievements which stand to the credit of this Committee fell very short of what was expected. The only important laws which they dealt with by way of consolidation related to Merchant Shipping, Criminal Tribes, Succession, Forests, Doles, etc. They proposed also to take up the laws relating to Trusts, Negotiable Instruments, Contracts, Torts and other such important things, but nothing came of it. The matter remained where it was. On the other hand, quite a large number of laws were dealt with and amended or consolidated without the help of that Committee, important among such enactments being the Sale of Goods Act, the Partnership Act, the Factories Act, the Indian Tariff Act, the Petroleum Act, the Insurance Act, the Motor Vehicles Act, etc. So, that was what happened.

The late Dr. Hari Singh Gour brought forward a proposal before this Committee that there should be a permanent Law Commission to deal with the whole problem of statute revision. The Committee did not approve of his proposal. He then brought forward a Resolution in the then Assembly, and I suppose it did not catch the ballot and therefore, that also did not come on. That is how the matter stood.

So, this Committee which was appointed in 1921 faded away in 1932 with the retirement of the then President of the Council of States, Sir Henry Moncrief Smith. Then the proposal was renewed in 1947 by Dr. Hari Singh Gour who moved the following Resolution in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative):

> "This Assembly is of opinion that a Statutory Law Revision Committee be appointed to clarify and settle the questions which require elucidation".

The then Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar, expressed his sympathy with the object of this Resolution but pointed out certain difficulties. He referred also to the very disappointing results which had been obtained from the previous Law Committee of 1921. The question really is one of machinery, as one can understand. If you have a permanent Commission and if that permanent Commission is to function effectively, it should be provided with a sufficiently large Secretariat. That means so much expense. So, on this ground, and also because it was not possible to obtain for it the co-operation of leading lawyers, who would not be able to spare the time necessary for doing this work, the thing was not taken up. The matter rested there. My hon. friend Dr. Katju then revived that proposal, and I may tell you that the matter is under examination. The whole question is one of machinery: whether it could be done effectively by means of a separate Law Commission functioning separately from the Law Ministry, or whether it could be done through the Law Ministry itself. The Law Ministry, if it was strengthened, might deal with the matter. Suppose instead you have a permanent Law Commission. The Commission would meet possibly once or twice in a year. But the brunt of the work will have to be done by the Secretariat officials. You must have competent men there to carry on this work of codification and revision. You must have the whole field of law open for examination. So far as particular branches of law are concerned, you may depend upon the interests concerned to bring up the matter. Suppose it is legislation regarding some matters relating to trade and commerce. You may depend upon it that the Chambers of Commerce, if they feel the necessity for fresh legislation, would be the first to bring the matter to the notice of Government.

The other question is this. Even though you may have a permanent statutory Law Commission which will pass under review the existing legislation with a view to find out which law requires amendment, which requires clarification, which requires modification, etc., still, you will not be able to dispense with the appointment of *ad hoc* Committees in order to consider legislation on important subjects. Take, for instance, the question of the revision of the Civil Procedure Code or the revision of the Criminal Procedure Code or the Indian Penal Code: the statutory Law Commission can only indicate that this ought to be done, or indicate some of the important matters which require to be reviewed. The actual task of consulting public opinion, of consulting all parties and all interests concerned, or of drawing up a draft Bill or a list of detailed recommendations dealing with all sides of the question, would still have to be done by *ad hoc* Committees. I am not expressing any final opinion; but these are matters which require to be considered. I may assure my hon. friends opposite that the matter is under examination, and whatever steps are necessary will be taken. There is no doubt that the work referred to is one of vital importance, because the law must be kept up-to-date.

So far as repeal or amendment of Statutes which have become obsolete is concerned, I need only refer to the various Amending and Repealing Bills which have been introduced in this House and passed from time to time, not at very long intervals, but at short intervals, and that has really effected a good deal of pruning of the laws. That has been done, and that will continue to be done so that hon. Members need have no apprehension that the laws will not be kept up-to-date for all practical purposes.

I do not think that I need refer to the other matters relating to the Law Ministry. I shall now come to the Ministry of Minority Affairs. In the first place, let me explain to the House that although I have been designated Minister for Minority Affairs, my work in that capacity is limited to the work that I was doing before in connection with the implementation of the Prime Ministers' Agreement of April 1950. There was some confusion and misunderstanding, and I was receiving complaints from other parts of India and from members of all minority communities in the country. I had to tell them that that was not part of my present assignment. I am only dealing with questions as between East Bengal on the one hand, and West Bengal and the rest of India on the other.

I do not share the opinion of those who, like my hon. friend Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, are never tired of repeating that the Prime Ministers' Agreement has produced no results.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): I never said that.

Shri Biswas: Not here, but outside the House.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Nowhere have I said that it has not produced results. It has produced magnificent results for Pakistan and some good results on our side also, so far as movement is concerned.

Shri Biswas: When I said that according to him it did not produce results, I had in mind results so far as India was concerned, not results for Pakistan. I know his view that it is all for the benefit of Pakistan, and nothing for India. Be that as it may, his speeches have been our headache for various reasons. However, that is another matter. I was expecting another vigorous speech from him this morning.

If you refer to the Agreement, one of the clauses runs thus: Both the Governments agree to

> "take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by press or radio or by any individual or organisation. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with."

The next clause says: They shall

> "Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda."

Complaints were received by us on more than one occasion from Pakistan, I will not say with much justification in every case, regarding transgression of these two clauses on our side of the border. The limitations imposed by the Constitution of India on taking action were there. Possibly, at the time when the Agreement was drawn up and signed, the effect of these limitations was not fully taken into account. But, there they were still, every agreement, like any ordinary contract, if it is to be implemented successfully, requires goodwill and co-operation of both the

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parties to the agreement. There is also another way of looking at the matter. The best results under an agreement can also be achieved by one party putting and always to be trying to put the other side in the wrong box. If your hands are perfectly clean, you can accuse your opponent with greater propriety and greater justification. If on the other hand, you act in such a way as to give an excuse to the other side to find fault with you, your position, your hands, get rather weakened. On our part, let me assure you, there has been no default, no failure to take action whenever anything has been said or done in Pakistan in violation of these important clauses. However, I let that pass.

Sir, you will find that after the Agreement was arrived at, very good results were obtained in respect of freedom of movement. The main object of the Agreement was to ensure freedom of movement to the migrants, and safety in transit, that is, freedom from harassment on the journey. All that was accomplished. There were complaints, no doubt, complaints of a minor nature. Sir, that could not be helped. You may have the best of laws. You have the Indian Penal Code, for instance. But, that has not stopped all crimes. Crime, there will be. The question is, whether there were crimes on the scale which prevailed before. Even the worst critics of the Pact will not be able to deny that a good deal has been achieved to bring about a substantial reduction in the crimes which had been taking place before that.

I am free to confess that there has been deterioration in the situation today. Things are not quite as good in East Bengal as they were some time ago. As to what this is due to, opinions may differ. We have our views. Those views are not shared by Pakistan.

One hon. Member, Mr. Barman, I suppose suggested yesterday that there should be an Enquiry Commission. What will an Enquiry Commission do? We make complaints. We report to them cases which have come to our notice, cases of abduction, cases of every kind. Lists are sent to Pakistan. We are sending them every case which is reported to have taken place, and then after six months, perhaps, the enquiry report comes. "Enquiries were made, very full enquiries were made, more than one authority enquired into these matters, and the allegations have been found to be baseless." Now, after such a report, what is left to India to do?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Only to submit.

Shri Biswas: We have got to accept the report just as they are bound to accept our reports. It all depends on whether the enquiries were made in the way they should have been made. We ask for particulars. Sometimes the particulars are supplied, sometimes they are not supplied. That is the position. Now what is to be done? If we appoint an Enquiry Commission, the Enquiry Commission cannot go into Pakistan and take evidence of persons there. If minority members are asked to give evidence, they will not just do so for fear of victimisation. Therefore, what is the use of appointing a Commission? On the other hand, we lose by the appointment of such a Commission. It will be open to Pakistan to say: "Here you are. You appointed a Commission. There was no evidence forthcoming. You see what we have said is prefectly true." So let us not play into the hands of the other party. Let us confine ourselves to what we do. So far as we are concerned, I may give hon. Members the assurance that nothing has been left undone on our part which ought to be done, or could be done, for the safety of the millions of Muslim minorities who are living in India. Notwithstanding the disclaimer which we often hear from Pakistan, I make bold to say that Muslims in India live much more freely and with a greater sense of security than the minorities in East Bengal.

Mr. Chatterji asked for a review of the working of the Pact for the last two years. I have got all the materials before me, they are here. I am prepared to deal with them, but unfortunately, there is no time, and if I were to go into the details, I shall not finish even in another hour, because there are very many matters to be dealt with, details of what we have done, details of what response we have received from the other side, and so on. One particular matter to which reference was made was the arrest of minority leaders like Satin Sen, Gobind Banerji and Manoranjan Dhar. I may assure you that as soon as the report appeared in the papers, and even earlier, I at once contacted my Opposite Number and protested in the strongest possible manner against these arrests. I suggested that the arrest of these minority

leaders would shake the confidence of the minorities in East Bengal, and that is why he should intervene. The reply came: "The arrests were made under the Public Safety Act. This is a matter for the Provincial Government, and therefore, there is no question of my interference with the discretion of the Provincial Government". I said, my hon. friend might do at least this: he might call for the papers from the Provincial Government, and satisfy himself whether action had been taken on grounds which could be justified. To that also there was no response. I pointed out to him that when Dr. Malik referred to me certain cases of arrest under the Preventive Detention Act in West Bengal, what I did was not to take up the attitude that was taken by my Pakistan counterpart on the present occasion. I sent for the papers from the West Bengal Government, read all the papers myself just as a Member of an Advisory Board would do, and then satisfied myself that the action taken was fully justified. I reported to Dr. Malik accordingly, and he did not raise any further objections. I suggested to my friend, the hon. Mr. Azizuddin Ahmed, to do likewise. I was not able to get much change out of him even then. Finally, I suggested, in that case, let the men be put on their trial. Let him say they will be put on trial before a Court, so that the matters alleged against them might be sifted. To that again there was no response. Now, what else could I do? What more, is it suggested, could be done?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Protest once again.

Dr. N. B. Khare: An emphatic protest and a meek submission!

Shri Biswas: Meek submission!—that is the taunt that comes from the other side. It is all very well to indulge in these cheap taunts.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Of course, cheap. When it involves the lives of millions, it is very cheap.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: He says cheap taunts, Sir. When it involves the lives of millions, it is very cheap.

Shri Biswas: Taunts at Members of the Treasury Benches: "you make another protest, and then it is again meek submission". I would like to know from my hon. friends on the other side, what action they could have taken?

Dr. N. B. Khare *exhibited a mailed fist.*

Shri Biswas: It is all very easy to make use of force. Where will that lead to? If they will only pause to consider what will be the effect on the country as a whole! That is another matter, however, which, I know, will not make an appeal to the other side, but that is an important question which any responsible Minister in charge of the administration of any country has got to take into consideration. There are many more things to say, but I will stop there. I thank you very much. I will not imitate my friend and hold out a mailed fist.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: So the House is to understand that there is no remedy. . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. We are not here for carrying on cross conversations.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I am merely surprised that the hon. Member should imitate the spirit of the late Prime Minister of Pakistan and shake his mailed fist.

डा० ऐन० बी० खरे: शठे शाठ्यम् समाचरेत

[Dr. Khare: Tit for tat.]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Birds of the same feather.

Mr. Speaker: I think we should not encourage these mutual repartees. It takes away from the purpose of the debate.

The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Law' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

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Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

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Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Administration of Justice' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

DEMAND No. 68—MINISTRY OF LAW

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 82,47,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Ministry of Law'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 69—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 55—CABINET

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,73,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: We will now proceed to take Demands of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

DEMAND No. 42—MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 31,11,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture'."

DEMAND No. 43—FOREST

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,23,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Forest'."

DEMAND No. 44—SURVEY OF INDIA

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 68,35,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Survey of India'."

DEMAND No. 45—BOTANICAL SURVEY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 97,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Botanical Survey'."

DEMAND No. 46—ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,85,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year

ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Zoological Survey'."

DEMAND No. 47—AGRICULTURE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,15,01,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Agriculture'."

DEMAND No. 48—CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,25,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Civil Veterinary Services'."

DEMAND No. 49—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,39,37,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture'."

DEMAND No. 116—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON FORESTS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,69,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Forests'."

DEMAND No. 117—PURCHASES OF FOODGRAINS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,26,92,39,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Purchases of foodgrains'."

DEMAND No. 118—OTHER CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,21,33,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture'."

Policy

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri (Berhampore): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Food Policy

Shri Damodara Menon (Kozhikode): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Famine condition now prevailing in eastern U.P. with special reference to Deoria and other districts.

Shri Ramji Verma (Deoria Distt.—East): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Development of fisheries in Chilka Lake of Orissa.

Shri P. Subba Rao (Nowrangpur): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Supply of food stocks to famine areas and irrigation policy.

Shri Eswara Reddy (Cuddapah): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Imported milo and people's health.

Shri Raghavaiah (Ongole): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Protection of poor peasants and agricultural labourers from feudal landlords.

Shri K. S. Rao (Eluru—Reserved—Sch. Castes) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Nationalisation of private forests.

Shri Damodara Menon: I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Forest' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Jute cultivation and jute research.

Shri T. K. Chandhuri: I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy of agriculture

Shri Mohana Rao (Rajahmundry—Reserved—Sch. Castes) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to advise the States against the ejectment of tenants from lands cultivated by them.

Shri K. Subrahmanyam (Vizianagaram) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity of evolving a new policy for equitable distribution of land to actual tillers of the soil.

Shri Waghmare (Parbhani) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Improved methods for cultivation.

Shri Kandasamy (Tiruchangode) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity for payment of full food subsidy to Travancore-Cochin State.

Shri Nesamony (Nagercoil): I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Complete stoppage of foodgrain imports as our country is self-sufficient in foodgrains if we observe "Miss a Meal a Week".

Shri Rajagopala Rao (Srikakulam) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

State of jute growers in Srikakulam District on account of the sudden fall in jute prices.

Shri Rajagopala Rao: I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure of the Grow More Food Campaign.

Shri Rajagopala Rao : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Deepening of wells with the aid of the Military and giving other facilities regarding irrigation in the famine area of Chipurupalli Taluq in Srikakulam District, Madras State and to give financial help to Agriculturists.

Shri Rajagopala Rao : I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Food and Agricultural Policy.

Shri Tulsidas (Mehsana West): I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Food position in Rayalaseema and failure of Grow More Food Campaign.

Shri Seshagiri Rao (Nandyal): I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

De-control policy in non-industrial and big cities and rural areas in general and specially in Hyderabad State.

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi): I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy of the Government in fixing the prices of agricultural produce and the necessity of fixing adequate and economic prices for food-grains produced in the country.

Shri Pocker Saheb (Malappuram): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Paucity of results accruing from the Grow More Food Campaign.

Shri Pocker Saheb: I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Refusal of Supplies.

Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai): I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture' be reduced to Re. 1."

Mr. Speaker: We will now proceed with the discussion of these cut motions. I am told a large number of hon. Members are anxious to participate in this debate, particularly because it concerns the question of the food situation in the country—not only a large number, but a very large number. I would, therefore, just remind the members that they may be as short as possible.

Shri Kelappan (Ponnani): Opposition for opposition's sake is not a principle that could be adopted by a party that has the good of the people at heart. We are not here to oppose whatever the Members on the Government Benches do or say. I do not like the Home Minister dismissing us like that and taking his stand on the doubtful principle that the majority can do no wrong. I am not averse to giving praise where it is due. I congratulate the Food Minister for permitting the Madras Government to decontrol foodstuffs. But I regret to say that our food policy was a complete failure. We went the wrong way about it. Instead of depending upon our own strength and resources and the enthusiasm of the people, we imported foodstuffs, we borrowed money from outside, and we used up all our sterling and dollar resources. And what has been the effect? No Government came to power with such a fund of goodwill and enthusiasm of the people. If only we had gone to the masses and enlisted their support, I am convinced we could have produced all the food that we wanted in our own country. Instead of doing that, we depended upon imports from foreign countries, and the result has been disastrous. In 1946 we imported 22·5 lakh tons of food grains from outside. In 1947 it was 23 lakh tons. In 1948 it rose to 28 lakh tons, and in 1949 it went up to 37 lakh tons. Though in 1950 it came down to 21 lakh tons, in 1951 it was again 47 lakh tons. And if the subsidy had not been stopped in 1952, we would have had to import 71 lakh tons to meet the demands of the States. It is not only individuals that hoard; Governments also do.

What was really the gap between our own production and our requirements? It was very narrow. Before the War we imported only about 15 lakh tons of food grains from outside. That was not more than five per cent. of our requirements. I do not ignore the fact that the population also was increasing, say, at the rate of one or one and a half per cent. per year. So, let us grant that during the last six years the population had increased by ten per cent. Therefore, if we could increase our production by 15 per cent. we could have met our food requirements. Now I find from papers that in Salem a farmer could produce 12,000 lbs. of rice in an acre of land. The other day, in Malabar a peasant was awarded a prize for producing 9,000 lbs. of rice in an acre of land. We need not even double our produce. It would have been enough if we could increase our production by 15 to 20 per cent. Was it really impossible? Certainly it was not. But we have miserably failed, the reason being we did not attach much importance to our own production. On the other hand, we depended on outside help and imports. That was really a ruinous step to take.

And what about our control, our procurement, and our rationing? Did we succeed in these? That also was a miserable failure. Take our rationing system.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Though the overall ration was twelve oz., the people in our parts got only the rice portion and that was nine oz. in the beginning and it went down to eight oz., seven oz., six oz., and in some of the non-statutory areas it went down even to five oz., and sometimes it completely failed. And did we succeed in controlling the surplus foodstuffs in the country? De did not. In the black-market foodstuffs were available to all those who could pay the price for them. Our procurement policy also was not a success. What about the Grow More Food Campaign. The Government come out with their figures. They say that in 1948-49 their target was 8·86 lakhs and the achievement was 7·95 lakhs. In 1949-50 the target was 9·85 lakhs, and they produced 8·11. And it was only in 1950-51 that they could not reach their target: the target was 17 lakhs and they could produce only eleven lakhs. Now, these figures might be right or wrong. The fact was we

[Shri Kelappan]

had to go on importing more and more foodgrains from outside and at the same time reduce our ration steadily from nine oz. of rice to six oz. That does not show that our Grow More Food movement was a success. In the very nature of things it could not be a success. The Government had failed to take the actual cultivators in the villages into their confidence. They were really harassed by the grain purchasing officers and the poor cultivators had to give more than they could; and the big farmers and the landlords were let off with a small levy and they could sell all their food grains in the black-market. Several peasants therefore out of sheer disgust have taken to money crops and have given up food crops. That is our experience. I have it on good authority that about 8·39 lakhs of acres of paddy land were diverted to jute cultivation. In Bengal the production of rice, I am told, has declined by 15 per cent. In Madras also the acreage under paddy has gone down. So how can we say that this grow-more-food campaign has been a success? Now if we proceed in the way in which we have been doing, our Five Year Plan and our community projects are also bound to fail. If these plans are to be executed in the village, the planning has to be done in the village by the villagers. The villagers have a certain mode of life and a certain genius that they have inherited from the past. Any plan of the future which is not related to that past cannot certainly succeed. If only we had our village *panchayats*, if we had organised one *panchayat* in each village and done the job methodically, the schemes that we have formulated would have received their wholehearted support and co-operation. That would have ensured the success of the scheme. If two million people could be got for construction of a dam in China, I am sure our 360 millions of people would certainly have come with enthusiasm to the help of the Government and produced all the food that we required. We have in our country over 1700 lakhs of acres of cultivable waste and we could certainly have brought more of this land under cultivation or we could have easily raised the yield of the land already under cultivation by 15 to 20 per cent. I am convinced that was a feasible proposition. But we have not succeeded in doing that. Now also it is not late. If the Government will take the people into confidence I am sure without outside help we can certainly produce all the foodgrains that we require. People in my own district Malabar were not living on the six or seven ounce ration that they were getting. Their main food was tapioca roots which is a fairly good substitute for rice. Thousands of acres of forest land were brought under tapioca cultivation and lorry loads of it came from the hills to the plains of Malabar. It was thus made available in every part of the country and it kept the poor people from starvation. We do not realise sufficiently the harm that soil erosion is doing on the West Coast. I am afraid Government do not realise it. The lay of the country on the West Coast is peculiar. On the West there is the Arabian Sea, on the East there are the high ranges of Western Ghats and there is a steep slope from the Western Ghats to the plains. And the forests in Malabar are the richest in India yielding so many varieties of hardwood. Those forests are being denuded and the forest lands are cultivated without terracing these slopes and what happens during the heavy rains is the whole of this soil finds its way into the paddy lands below or is washed into the sea. If we allow this to go on for some more time, we shall have the same spectacle that we now have all along the coast. We find along the coast a number of bald hills where nothing grows. These were at one time dense forests destroyed by slash cutting. Nobody cared to replant them. The shrubs that remained were cut for manure and the roots also were removed for charcoal. That soil has been completely washed clean of all manure and now not even a blade of grass grows on those hills.

Now, Sir, a word about the *Vanamahotsava* that has become a regular feature of our activities. If this is conducted in other parts of the country also as it is being conducted in the South it is a ludicrous farce. There some Ministers of the Government come down from Madras; they and the officials plant a few trees in the compound of the *Taluk* office or the village *Munsif*. Along the Railway line also trees are planted. They are eaten by the stray cattle and I am afraid if even one per cent. of it has survived.

We want *Vanamahotsava*. We want afforestation of these lands and that has to be done in a methodical way and not in the haphazard way in which it is now being done. In Malabar there are a number of private forests which have to be nationalised if you want to preserve them. These private forests are indiscriminately exploited and are in danger of being destroyed in a very short time unless the Government take up those forests and nationalise them. I hope the Government will see their way to nationalise those forests.

I wanted to say about the extravagant expenditure that I find in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. But the time at my disposal is very short. The other day in reply to a question it was said that about 72 cars and 194 trucks were used in that Ministry and about 21 lakhs of rupees were spent for their maintenance alone. Whether you look this side or that you see extravagant expenditure everywhere in all these Ministries. The money they spend in the last analysis comes not from the rich but from the poor tiller of the soil and from the poor worker. I am inclined to agree with that statesman who divided society into two classes the tax-payers and the tax-eaters.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव श्रीमान्, डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं आज अपने फूड मिनिस्टर साहब को मुबारकबाद पेश करता हूं। यह मुबारकबाद रूटीन (routine) मुबारकबाद नहीं है बल्कि मैं दिल से निकली हुई मुबारकबाद पेश करता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट आफ़ इंडिया के इस मुल्क में कंट्रोल करने की नीति को इतने अर्से के बाद नये सिरे से एक नया ढंग देने की कोशिश की है।

मैं इस मौक़े पर इस हाउस में श्री राजगोपालाचार्य जी की खिदमत में भी मुबारकबाद का पैग़ाम भेजना चाहता हूं कि इतनी हिम्मत कर के उन्होंने एक ऐसा क़दम उठाया जिस से आम तौर पर लोग इस तरह का क़दम उठाने में डरते थे। उन्होंने जो क़दम उठाया है उस में सिर्फ़ इतना ही नहीं कि कामयाबी होगी बल्कि देश की जनता की भलाई होगी। मैं साथ ही इस मौक़े पर अपने प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब और दूसरे ऐसे असहाब को जो इस बारे में खुला दिल रखते हैं। उन को भी मुबारकबाद पेश करना चाहता हूं। इन लोगों ने अपने पुराने ख्यालात की रोशनी में नई हालत को देखते हुए ऐसे क़दम की इजाजत दी और उस का खैर मक़दम किया।

मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि दर असल जो भाई आज कंट्रोल्स की खराबियां बयान करते हैं, मैं भी किसी हद तक उन के साथ हूं। लेकिन हमें कभी किसी पालिसी को देखने के वास्ते इस बात को नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि वह पालिसी किन हालतों में बनी और किस तरह से वह चलाई गई। यह पालिसी पुरानी गवर्नमेंट ने बनाई थी और यह उसी की ही लिगेसी (legacy) थी। यह लिगेसी उन हालतों में आई जिस समय एक नेशनलिस्ट एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (nationalist administration) क़ायम हुआ। जिस समय हमने अपनी आजादी हासिल की गवर्नमेंट को हर तरह की दिक्कतें पेश आई और अकलमन्दी का तक़ाजा था कि एक दम तबदीलियां न की जायें। उस वक्त गवर्नमेंट यह चाहती थी कि इन पालिसियों को जो पहिले से आ रही हैं क़ायम रक्खा जाय और आहिस्ता आहिस्ता मौक़ा आने पर उन को दुरस्त करने की कोशिश की जाय। रेवोल्यूशन (revolution) कभी जल्दी में नहीं आता है (revolutions do not come in a flood) वह तो आहिस्ता आहिस्ता आता है। इस तरह से सन् १९४८ और १९४९ में जो मुसीबत हमारी गवर्नमेंट के सामने थी उस वक्त एक दम तबदीली की तवक्को करना ग़ैर मुनासिब था और उस समय गवर्नमेंट भी यह नहीं चाहती थी कि वह एक दम अपनी पालिसी तबदील कर दे।

मैं यह भी मानने के लिये तैयार हूं कि उस समय देश के अन्दर गेहूं और चावल की कमी थी मगर वह थोड़ी सी कमी थी। इस देश के अन्दर ग़ल्ले की कमी भी ऐसी कमी नहीं थी जिस से कि इस देश के लोग भूखों मर जाते। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट इस बारे में खतरा मोल नहीं ले सकती थी। गवर्नमेंट पब्लिक की नुक्ते निगाह में माई बाप का दर्जा रखती है। तो क्या मां अपने बच्चे के साथ किसी तरह का खुराक़ के मामले

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

में तजुर्बा करना पसन्द करेगी ? उस के लिये इस तरह की बात सोचना भी मुमकिन नहीं है कि वह अपने औलाद के साथ इस तरह का तजुर्बा करें । अगर मुल्क में काफ़ी ग़ल्ला हो कि जिस से गवर्नमेंट हर व्यक्ति को छः छंटांक राशन दे सके तो भी कोई गवर्नमेंट डिकंट्रोल (decontrol) करने में हक़ बजानिब न होगीं । खसूसन यह गवर्नमेंट जिस की पालिसी बिल्कुल साफ़ है । उस की पालिसी खतरा मोल लेने की नहीं बल्कि हिफ़ाजत की है और हिफ़ाजत की पालसी चाहती है कि देश में ग़ल्ला क़ाफ़ी हो । जिस समय बंगाल म सन १९४३ में क़हत पड़ा था और कलकत्ते की गलियों में लोग मच्छरों और मक्खियों की तरह मरने लगे थे तो क्या इन सब बातों को देखते हुए यह सरकार के लिये मुमकिन था कि वह सरकार की बागडोर के हाथ में लेते ही गल्ले पर से कंट्रोल उठा देती ? मैं यह जानता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट की यह पालिसी नहीं थी कि वह कंट्रोल को हमेशा के लिये जारी रक्खें । खसूसन हमारी गवर्नमेंट के वास्ते तो यह बात मुमकिन नहीं थी कि वह एक आदमी को भूखा मरने दें और एक दम डिकंट्रोल कर दें । उस समय हमारी सरकार के सामने कुछ मजबूरियां थीं जिनकी वजह से ही वह डीकंट्रोल नहीं कर सकती थी । दूसरे हमारे एदाद शुमा (figures) ठीक नहीं थे जिस की बिना पर हमारी सरकार कोई ठीक क़दम उठा सकती मगर सरकार के सामने यह बात थी कि समय ठीक हो ने पर कंट्रोल को उठा दिया जायेगा ।

10 A. M.

आज श्री किदवई साहब के आते ही पालिसी में तबदीली हो गई है । जिस रोज श्री के० एम० मुन्शी यहां से तशरीफ़ ले गये, उस के बाद से न कोई फसल हुई, न मेंह बरसा और न किसी तरह की तबदीली हुई । उन्हों ने आते ही जादूगर की तरह काम किया । जादू भी इस क़िस्म का नहीं था जिस तरह का जादूगर करते हैं । बल्कि उन्हों ने मामले व वाक़आत को समझा और सोचा और उसी के मुताबिक़ उन्हों ने अपनी कार्यवाही शुरू कर दी । मैं उन की इस कार्यवाही के लिये उन को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूं । He is a man of action and a man of destiny.

मैं चाहता हूं कि इस सवाल को हल अच्छी तरह से किया जाय । मैं इस सवाल के पीछे ७-८ सालों से पड़ा हुआ हूं । मैं ने गवर्नमेंट की हर रिपोर्ट और हर चीज़ figures वग़ैरा को पढ़ा है । मैं हमेशा इस हाउस में कहता आया हूं कि इस देश के अन्दर ग़ल्ले की कमी नहीं है, जिस से लोग भूखे मर जायेंगे । इतना बड़ा मुल्क हिमालय से ले कर कोचीन तक और आसाम से लेकर पंजाब तक का हमारा है । अगर हम हर एक आदमी को ६ छंटाक या ८ छटांक अनाज दे सकते तो इलाज बड़ा सीधा था । मगर सरकार के सामने मजबूरी भी थी । पंजाब से जितना अनाज बचता था वह सब का सब साउथ (south) को भेज दिया जाता था । मगर इस के साथ ही साथ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में जो खराबियां होती हैं उस का भी तो सरकार को सामना करना पड़ा । माल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (mal-administration) होने की वजह से भी गवर्नमेंट मजबूर थी । यह गवर्नमेंट की कमजोरी नहीं थी । बल्कि मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक गवर्नमेंट

के लिये मुमकिन हो सका उस ने उतना काम किया (श्री रामनारायण सिंह की तरफ़ मुखातिब होकर) आप सर क्या हिला रहे हैं। आप को सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि सरकार ने अरबों रुपयों का ग़ल्ला बाहर से मंगाया और यहां की जनता को भूख से मरने से बचाया और इसके इलावा क़रीब ६५ करोड़ रुपया इस गवर्नमेंट ने ख़र्च किया। मगर इस के साथ साथ आपको यह भी महसूस करना चाहिये कि जो आदाद शुमार हम को मिले वह ग़लत थे जिस से हम ठीक तरह से सही अन्दाजा हालत का नहीं कर सके। हम को बतलाया गया कि ग़ल्ले की ज्यादा पैदावार नहीं होती। मैं आप से पूछता हूं कि मद्रास के रहने वाले और जो सब काम कर रहे हैं लड़ाई में भी लड़ रहे है तो वह किस तरह से और क्या खा कर यह सब काम कर रहे हैं। अगर वहां पर सूखा ही पड़ता है तो किस तरह से हमारे वैलायुधन साहब यहां पर इतने ज़ोर ज़ोर से चिल्ला चिल्ला कर बोलते हैं। अगर वहां पर सूखा ही पड़ता तो किस तरह से वहां पर लोग अपनी गुजर कर सकते थे। मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार हूं कि गवर्नमेंट के जो आदाद शुमार हैं वह दुरस्त नहीं हैं। गवर्नमेंट भी इस बात को मानती है।

मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट के आप जरा जो रिकार्डस (records) हैं उन को देखें। मेरे पास गवर्नमेंट की फ़िगर्स हैं। मगर मुझे अफ़सोस है कि मेरे पास इतना वक्त नहीं है कि मैं उन को आप के सामने रख दूं। पिछले साल गवर्नमेंट ने ४७६६ टन गल्ला बाहर से मंगवाया उस साल ३७६६ टन चने की पैदावार को गल्ले में शुमार नहीं किया। मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि जो आदाद शुमार गवर्नमेंट की ओर से शाया किये जाते हैं वह दुरुस्त नहीं होते हैं और इस से सरकार को अपनी पालिसी बनाने में मदद नहीं मिल सकती है बल्कि उस से तो नुक़सान ही होता है।

गवर्नमेंट न्यूट्रेशनल स्टैंडर्ड (Nutritional standard) को बढ़ाना चाहती है और वह हर एक तरह से जनता का मयार बढ़ाना चाहती है। पार्लीयामेंट्री कांग्रेस एग्जीक्यूटिव पार्टी (Parliamentary Congress Executive Committee) की ओर से एक रिपोर्ट शाया की गई थी जिसका कि मैं प्रेजीडेंट (President) था। जिस के अन्दर हमने साबित कर दिया था कि दरअसल देश में गल्ले की कमी नहीं है। हमारे देश में कई क़िस्म के ग़ल्ले पैदा होते हैं जिस की काश्त क़रीब ५० लाख एकड़ भूमि में की जाती है। उत्तर प्रदेश में इतना मटर पैदा होता है कि कहा नहीं जाता और उस को लोग ग़ल्ले के तौर पर खाते हैं। इसी तरह से और भी दूसरे अनाज वहां पर और दूसरे प्रांतों में होते हैं। मद्रास में टैपिओका (tapioca) होता है और मंडरवा होता है। मेरे जिले में चना बहुत होता है मगर उस को वह सीरियल (cereal) के तौर पर भी इस्तेमाल में लाते हैं और चीजों में भी वह काम में लाते हैं। मगर यह सब अनाज सीरियल में नहीं गिना जाता है। इसलिये अगर यह सब सीरियल में शुमार हो तो ग़ल्ले की तादाद हमारी जरूरत से कम नहीं है। स्माल मिलैट (small millet) के ठीक ऐदाद व शुमार नही हैं। कैसे ऐदादो शुमार एक दिन में पैदा हो सकते हैं। बराबर पचासों बरस तक स्टैटिस्टिकल रैकार्ड (statistical record) हो तो यह ठीक मिल सकते हैं। गवर्नमेंट ने नया रैकार्ड बनाया है, उस के ऐदादो शुमार आ रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि यह बनते बनते वक्त लगेगा। पिछले स्टेटिस्टिक्स नहीं हैं। इसलिये हम किसी

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नतीजे पर नहीं पहुंच सकते । इसमें हमारा क्या क़सूर है । इस का इलाज भी क्या है । इस वास्ते मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हम को खुशी है कि आज डिकंट्रोल की तरफ राजा जी ने कदम उठाया और मुझको उम्मीद है कि आयन्दा सारे देश में डी कन्ट्रोल हो जायेगा । मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस कंट्रोल की वजह से जितनी लोअर मिडिल क्लास थी वह तबाह हो गयी थी । बेचारे वह दूकानदार जो बेजुबान हैं, जिन के वास्ते कोई शख्स अपनी जुबान खोलने को तैयार नहीं हैं, उन की राजी खत्म हो गयी थी । जमींदार, जिन की हालत तो किसी क़दर अच्छी थी, महसूस करते थे कि हमें इनीशियेटिव (initiative) नहीं है । मेरी पैदावार जो मैं अपने खेत में पैदा करता हूं उसे गवर्नमेंट प्रोक्योर (procure) कर के ले जाती है । और यह गवर्नमेंट के जो और एम्प्लाईज (employees) थे यह रोज गवर्नमेंट को गालियां देते थे । जनाब वाला, पंजाब के अन्दर जो गेहूं पैदा करने वाले हैं उनको तो गेहूं मिलता था १६ रुपये मन के हिसाब से और बम्बई के अन्दर मैरीन ड्राइव पर रहने वाले और यहां चांदनी चौक में रहने वालों को सस्ता अनाज मिलता था । जब कि गेहूं जो पंजाब से आता था वह यहां दिल्ली में ११ रुपये मन मिलता था और पंजाब के अन्दर १६ रुपये मन मिलता था । दिल्ली में ११ और पंजाब में १६, यह सबसिडी (subsidy) देने में कहां का इंसाफ़ था । किस के वास्ते यह कंट्रोल था ? मैं निहायत खुश हूं कि डिकंट्रोल की तरफ़ क़दम उठाया गया । हालांकि यह बहुत जल्द नहीं उठाया गया है, लेकिन आज साबित हो गया कि डिकन्ट्रोल की कितनी जरूरत है ।

जनाब वाला, गवर्नमेंट की दो ग़लतियां थीं । एक तो यह कि हर एक फ़ैडरेशन (Federation) के कांस्टीट्यूशन (Constitution) में दर्ज है कि जो स्टेट्स (States) हैं वह ज़िम्मेवार हैं ग़ल्ला पैदा करने के लिये और लोकल पापुलेशन (local population) के वास्ते अनाज पैदा करने के लिये । हमारी गवर्नमेंट आफ़ इंडिया ने बड़ी मेहरबानी करके यह ज़िम्मेवारी ले ली और स्टेट्स के मिनिस्टर साहबान आ कर यहां ज़ोर देने लगे कि हमारे पास ग़ल्ले की कमी है, हमें इतना ग़ल्ला और चाहिये, हम अपनी डिमांड (demand) कम नहीं कर सकते । सैंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने उन के दबाव से बाहिर से ग़ल्ला मंगवा लिया यही हालत होती रही । पिछली मर्तबा ८ मिलियन टन अनाज की डिमांड आ गयी । लेकिन जब यह कह दिया गया कि सबसिडी मौक़ूफ़, तो एक दम वह डिमांड ४ मिलियन टन पर आ गयी । मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट आफ़ इंडिया को चाहिये था कि सारी स्टेट्स को कह देती कि हम इस बारे में ज़िम्मेदारी नहीं लेते । हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन में जो ३६९ दफ़ा है, उस में हमारा कानकरेंट (concurrent) अख्तियार है, लेकिन यह गवर्नमेंट आफ़ इंडिया की ज़िम्मेवारी नहीं थी । गवर्नमेंट आफ़ इंडिया ने ख्वामख्वाह अपने ऊपर इस की ज़िम्मेवारी ले ली, एक आफ़त मोल ले ली । इस वास्ते सारी स्टेट्स ने अपनी ज़िम्मेवारी महसूस नहीं की और इस वजह से यह हालत हुई । हमारी ग्रो मोर फ़ूड कैम्पेन (Grow More Food Campaign) शुरू हुई, लेकिन इस के चार चांद लग जाते अगर हर एक स्टेट में यह फ़िक्रा पैदा हो जाती कि ग़ल्ले का पैदा करना स्टेट्स व काश्तकारों का फ़र्ज है ।

आज क्या सूरत मुल्क के अन्दर है। गवर्नमेंट के खज़ाने में, गवर्नमेंट के अनाज के खज़ाने में आज ३७ लाख टन ग़ल्ला पड़ा हुआ है। फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान (Five Year Plan) में प्लानिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्ट है कि एक मिलियन यानी १० लाख टन ग़ल्ला हमारे पास रहना चाहिये, ताकि कहीं ग़ल्ले की क़ीमत ज्यादा हो जाय तो हम ग़ल्ला भेज सकें। आज गवर्नमेंट के पास ३७ लाख टन ग़ल्ला है। इस के अलावा आज प्राविन्सेज़ में इतना प्रोक्योरमेंट होता है कि सिवाय बंगाल और बम्बई के कोई ऐसी स्टेट नहीं है जिस के अन्दर प्रोक्योरमेंट इतना ज्यादा न हो रहा हो कि वहां उन को मुश्किल हो रही है कि इस अनाज को कहां रखेंगे। जनाब वाला, आज गवर्नमेंट की प्रोक्योरमेंट की क़ीमत ज्यादा है, उस क़ीमत से बहुत ज्यादा है जो कि मारकेट (Market) के अन्दर है। तो मैं अर्ज़ करता हूं कि अब वक्त आ गया, अब टाइड (tide) आ गया है। हमारे ४०० करोड़ के बजट में से २०० करोड़ आर्मी (Army) खा जाय और २०० करोड़ ग़ल्ला खा जाय, तो कैसे यहां हवाई जहाज़ बनेंगे और कैसे हमारे मुल्क में और काम होंगे। कैसे हमारे यहां तालीम बढ़ेगी और कैसे और चीज़ बढ़ेगी। इसी तरह हालत रही तो हम खत्म हो जायेंगे। इसलिये मुझे खुशी है कि गवर्नमेंट ने यह क़दम उठाया। गवर्नमेंट को इस टाइड से फ़ायदा उठाना चाहिये। आज हिन्दुस्तान में ही क्या दुनिया के अन्दर टाइड आ गया है। लड़ाई की वजह से जो हालत पैदा हुई थी वह अब खत्म हो चुकी है। मुझे इस का डर नहीं है अगर हमें थोड़ा सा ग़ल्ला बाहर से मंगाना पड़े, दस लाख टन चावल आयन्दा हम इम्पोर्ट (import) करते रहें तो मैं इस का मुखालिफ़ नहीं हूं, क्योंकि हम आइल सीड्स (oil seeds) दूसरे मुल्कों को देते हैं। हम क्यों न उन से चावल लें। लेकिन आयन्दा से हमारे यहां दस लाख टन चावल के अलावा इस मुल्क के अन्दर कोई और इम्पोर्ट नहीं होगा और अनाज का एक कण भी हम बाहर से इम्पोर्ट नहीं करेंगे, यह मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है।

आप एक मिनट के वास्ते यह देखें कि आप यह डिकंट्रोल करेंगे तो क्या होगा। आज गवर्नमेंट सिर्फ़ कंट्रोल के इन्तज़ामात पर दस करोड़ रुपये खर्च कर रही है और अकेले उत्तर प्रदेश में इसके अलावा नौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च होता है। फिर सबसिडी पर ३० करोड़ रुपया खर्च होता था। यह नुक़सान किसको पहुंचता है। यह बेचारे उस ग़रीब शख्स को पहुंचता है जो अनाज पैदा करता है। जनाब वाला, यह कंट्रोल उन लोगों के नाम पर रखा गया जिन को इस की ज़रूरत नहीं है। सिर्फ़ अरबन पापुलेशन (urban population) को आप ग़ल्ला देते हैं, रूरल पापुलेशन (rural population) तो ऐसे ही है, उस को आप ग़ल्ला व दूसरी चीज़ें नहीं देते, वह तो शिक़ायत ही करते रहते हैं। तो अदब से मेरी गुज़ारिश यह है कि लड़ाई के ज़माने में तो यह कंट्रोल ठीक हो सकता है लेकिन अब नहीं है। एक छोटे से मुल्क में, जैसे कि इंग्लिस्तान में तो यह चल सकता है जहां कि और तरह की पापुलेशन है। लेकिन मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि यहां सब भाई दिल पर हाथ रख कर मुझे बतायें कि कितने ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने ग़ल्ले के बारे में या किसी और चीज़ के बारे में ब्लैक मारकेटिंग न की हो, जिन्होंने ब्लैक मारकेट (blackmarket) में ग़ल्ला न खरीदा हो। इसलिये ऐसे हालात के अन्दर नामुमकिन है कि कामयाबी हो सके। इस वास्ते मैं अर्ज़ करूंगा कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि आप डिकंट्रोल करें। जो से इलाक़े हैं कि जहां कमी है उनको आप

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव

जो सरप्लस एरियाज़ (surplus areas) हैं उन से ग़ल्ला ले कर दें। और कुछ अर्से के लिये रीजिनल कंट्रोल से काम ले लें। मैं नहीं चाहता कि एकदम हम डिकंट्रोल कर के इस देश में कनफ्यूज़न (confusion) पैदा किया जावे। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के हुक्म के मुताबिक़ मैं चाहता हूं कि काशन (caution) से हम चलें, हम आहिस्तगी से चलें। हम ने क़दम डिकंट्रोल की तरफ़ उठाया है और मैं चाहता हूं कि सारे देश में डिकंट्रोल कर दिया जाय। लेकिन इस तरह से नहीं कि किसी जगह की इकानामी को हम डिसटर्ब (disturb) कर दें। अगर कहीं ग़ल्ले की कमी हो तो हमें वहां ग़ल्ला पहुंचाना होगा।

ग्रो मोर फ़ूड के बारे में हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इसके मुताल्लिक़ मैं अदब से अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं कि शायद १५-२० फ़ी सदी रुपया इसमें ज़ाया हुआ हो तो हुआ हो इस से ज्यादा नहीं। मुझे एक कमेटी में बैठने का मौक़ा मिला और वहां ऐदादो शुमार देखने का मौका मिला और मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि बहुत सी खराबियां जो ग्रो मोर फ़ूड के बारे में हुई बताई जाती हैं वह सब बिल्कुल ग़लत हैं। तहक़ीक़ात से साबित हो गया है कि यह रुपया इस तरह से ज़ाया नहीं हुआ जैसा कि लोग समझते हैं। अभी मेरे दोस्त केलप्पन साहब ने कुछ फ़िगर्स पढ़ कर सुनाये कि गवर्नमेंट का इतना ग़ल्ला बढ़ा। इस में कोई शक़ नहीं कि ग़ल्ले में बढ़ोतरी हुई। कमी अब नहीं है और बढ़ोतरी ग्रो मोर फूड से हुई है। अब इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं है कि ऐसी हालत आ गयी है कि जिस के अन्दर हम सैल्फ सफिशियेन्ट (Self-sufficient) हैं, इस ख्याल से कि कोई आदमी यहां भूखा नहीं मरेगा, क्योंकि हमारा न्यूट्रीशनल स्टैण्डर्ड बहुत छोटा है। दुनिया में तीन हज़ार कैलोरीज़ (calories) तक लोग खाते हैं और यहां हिन्दुस्तान में आदमी को हज़ार बारह सौ कैलोरीज़ पर गुज़ारा करना पड़ता है। बात क्या है? मैं जनाब की इजाज़त से एक मिनट के लिये दूध के बारे में थोड़ा सा अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं। दूध एक प्रोटेक्टिव फ़ूड (protective food) है, जिस की नदियां इस देश में बहा करती थीं। हमारे मुल्क से जो आदमी बाहर गये हैं वे जानते हैं कि स्वीडन में, डेनमार्क में और इंग्लैंड में, हर एक लड़के और लड़की को, कोई भी हो, उस को स्कूल में सरकार की तरफ़ से मुफ्त दूध मिलता है। मैं चाहता हूं कि यह आइडियल (ideal) हमारे सामने हो कि हर एक स्कूल गोइंग एज (school going age) के लड़के को और लड़की को १६ औंस दूध मिले। दूध मार्केटिंग रिपोर्ट (Milk Marketing Report) में लिखा है कि इस देश के अन्दर १६ फ़ी सदी खानदान ऐसे हैं कि जिन को दूध देखने को नसीब नहीं होता। यह इतना अभागा मुल्क है कि जिस के अन्दर गौ की परस्तिश होती है फिर भी १६ फ़ी सदी खानदान को दूध नसीब नहीं होता। हमारे यहां गायें ११ छटांक रोज़ के औसत से दूध देती हैं और डेनमार्क में साढ़े ग्यारह सेर फ़ी रोज़ के हिसाब से दूध देती हैं। (एक आवाज़ : हरियाने में क्या हाल है) मेरे लायक़ दोस्त मुझ से हरियाना की हालत पूछते हैं। मैं आप से अदब के साथ अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं, मैं रोकर आंसू बहा कर कहता हूं कि आज हरियाना के अन्दर यह हालत है कि हिसार के अन्दर हज़ारों गायें मर रही हैं और गवर्नमेंट ने उन की वह परवाह नहीं की जो करनी चाहिये थी। जनाब वाला, गवर्नमेंट न जह

६५ करोड़ रुपया ग्रो मोर फ़ूड पर खर्च किया वहां सिर्फ़ पिछले साल में की विलेज स्कीम (village scheme) पर सिर्फ़ ६ लाख रुपया खर्च किया । मैं अदब से फ़ूड मिनिस्टर साहब की खिदमत में अर्ज़ करूंगा कि अगर आप आयन्दा इस देश में अच्छे न्युट्रीशनल स्टैंडर्ड बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो मेहरबानी कर के दूध की पैदावार को बढ़ाइये और गौओं की तरफ़ ज्यादा ध्यान दीजिये ।

ज़िला हिसार में चन्द वर्ष हुये जब वहां की गायें १०-१२ सेर प्रति दिन दूध देती थीं । आज गवर्नमेंट की रिपोर्ट देखने से मालूम होता है कि दूध वहां पहले से बहुत कम पैदा होता है और यह दूध की कमी वाक़े होना नेशनल डिज़ास्टर (national disaster) है । लेकिन अगर कोई इस चीज़ को न समझना चाहे, तो उस की मर्जी है । जनाब वाला, आज हालत क्या है । सन् १९३५ में एक आदमी का दूध का औसत रोज़ाना इस्तेमाल ७ आउंस था, जो सन् ४० में घट कर ५·४४ हो गया और अब सन् १९५२ म दूध की इतनी कमी वाक़े हुई कि वह ४·७ रह गया है जिसके मानी यह हैं कि इस देश के अन्दर दूसरे देशों की अपेक्षा निरन्तर दूध की कमी होती जाती है और यह चीज़ बहुत ही ज्यादा दुख देने वाली है ।

जनाब वाला, जिस ज़िले से मैं आता हूं वहां के ग़रीब लोग सीरियल में या तो मोटा अनाज खाते हैं या छाछ पीते हैं, लेकिन आप को सुन कर तक़लीफ़ होगी कि अब हमारे ज़िले में छाछ की कमी है क्योंकि घी कम होता है, इसलिये छाछ की कमी है । सन् १९३५ में इस देश के अन्दर २ करोड़ ३० लाख मन घी पैदा होता था, सन् १९४० में इस देश में एक करोड़ ४० लाख मन घी पैदा होने लगा, तो इस क़दर कमी घी की पैदावार में पांच सालों में हो गई और १९४५ में यह घी की कमी और ज्यादा हो गई और अब कुल १ करोड़ ११ लाख मन घी इस देश में पैदा होता है और ज्यों ज्यों घी कम होता गया, छाछ की भी कमी इस देश में होती गई । अगर इस देश में गांव वालों की ख़ुराक़ का यही हाल रहा, तो मैं अदब से अर्ज़ करूंगा कि यह हालत ऐसी होगी जिस को गवर्नमेंट को सोचना होगा । मैं उन बहादुर लोगों की जगह से आता हूं जहां के लोगों ने दूसरे मुल्कों में हिन्दुस्तान का सिक्का बिठाया और दूसरे मुल्कों में जा कर विदेशी फौजों के दांत खट्टे किये हैं, आज गवर्नमेंट अगर उन की ख़ुराक़ का मसला हल नहीं कर सकती, तो मैं अर्ज़ करता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट अपने फ़रायज़ को अदा नहीं कर सकती । इस वास्ते मैं अदब से गवर्नमेंट की खिदमत में अर्ज करूंगा कि वह चाहे और मांगों को माने या न माने, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट को जहां तक दूध और घी का सवाल है, उस की तरफ़ खास तवज्जह देना चाहिये और अगर वह उस की तरफ़ तवज्जह नहीं देती, तो वह अपने फ़रायज़ की अदा नहीं करेगी जो उस पर क़ायम हैं । आखिर म मैं आप का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूं कि जनाब वाला ने मुझे दो-तीन मिनट ज्यादा टाइम अता फ़रमाया ।

(*English translation of the above speech*)

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): Sir, I take this opportunity to congratulate our hon. Minister of Food today. These congratulations are not of a routine nature but they come out from the very core of my heart because of the fact that the Government of India have after a long time tried to revise their control policy. I would like to convey my congratulations to Shri Rajagopalachari as well who, taking courage in both hands has taken such a bold step about which other people are generally hesitant. His bold step will not only prove a success but will result in the betterment of the condition of the people

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

of this country as well. At the same time, I would like to congratulate our Prime Minister and other friends also who have kept an open mind on this issue. They have in the light of their old views, realized the present position and have not only allowed such a step to be taken but have even welcomed it.

I submit that I agree to some extent with those hon. friends who narrate the flaws and drawbacks of the controls. But, while judging the merits and demerits of a certain policy, we should never forget the circumstances under which that particular policy was evolved and the manner in which that policy was executed. The policy with regard to controls was evolved by the former Government. It was their legacy. This legacy was inherited by the present Government at that time when the national Government was established in the country for the first time. In the wake of independence the National Government that came into being, was confronted with all sorts of trials and tribulations; and reason demanded that no major changes should be made all at once. It was the policy of the Government at that time to continue the old policies and to try to correct them gradually only when any occasion arose for such a change. Revolutions do not take place all at once, they do not come in a flood. They come gradually. In this way, keeping in view the difficulties that confronted our Government in the years 1948 and 1949, it was not proper to expect a major change all at once, and the Government of the day too did not like to change their policy all at once.

I am prepared to admit that there was shortage of wheat and rice in the country at that time, but that shortage was small. There was never any shortage of food in the country to an extent which could have resulted in any starvation deaths. But the Government could not take any risk in this connection. Government enjoys the status of *ma-baap* (parents) in the eyes of the public. Could they then take the risk of experimenting with such an essential thing as food? It was impossible for them even to think of doing such an experiment. Even if there would be sufficient foodgrains in this country, so as to enable the Government to allow a ration of six *chhattaks* per head, no Government would be justified in abolishing controls, more especially this Government whose views are quite clear on this subject. Their policy is not that of taking risks but of precautions. With that policy of caution they want that there should be abundant food in the country. At the time of the Bengal Famine of 1943 people died like flies in the streets of Calcutta. In view of those awful happenings it was not possible for our Government to remove controls from foodgrains no sooner they took over the reins of administration. I know it was not the policy of the Government to continue the controls for ever. But it was not possible for them to announce decontrol of foodgrains all at once and allow people to die of hunger. There were some urgent tasks before the Government at that time on account of which they could not remove the controls. The facts and figures on the basis of which our Government would have framed their future policy, were not correct; but they had always this thing in view that the controls would be removed when the conditions improved. Now, we find there has been a change in the policy with the coming of Shri Kidwai. There has been no fresh crop, no rains, nor any other major change since Shri K. M. Munshi left the Cabinet. He started his work like a magician. But it was not the magic of a magician which he used in taking his decisions. On the other hand, he thought over the matter, tried to understand the facts and accordingly took his decisions. I congratulate him for his decisions. He is a man of action, a man of destiny.

I want that this question should be solved properly. I am after it for the last seven or eight years. I have read almost every Government report carefully. I have been submitting to this House for a long time that there is no such shortage of food in the country as would result in starvation deaths. Ours is a vast country which stretches from the Himalayas in the north to Cochin in the south and from Assam in the east to Punjab in the west. Had we been able to allow a ration of six or eight *chhattaks* per head, the remedy would have been easy. But there were some urgent matters before the Government. What ever Punjab could save was being sent to South. But the Government have also to contend with defects in the administration, which these things bring in their train. They were helpless because of the mal-administration. This was not a weakness on the part of the Government. On the other

hand I would like to submit that the Government did whatever they could. (Addressing Shri Ramnarayan Singh); why do you shake your head? You would be surprised to know that the Government spent crores of rupees on the import of foodgrains and saved the people here from starvation deaths. The Government spent about 65 crores of rupees from its pocket on foodgrains. But along with this you should feel that facts and figures supplied to us were not correct, and so we could not take a correct view of the things. We were told that the production of food was not sufficient. I ask one question: what food the people of Madras, who are doing all sorts of jobs and are fighting as well, are taking, which keeps them fit to perform all their duties? If monsoons always fail there, how is it that our friend Shri Velayudhan is thundering in this House? Had there been draught, how would people have managed to live there? Sir, I am prepared to admit that the statistics prepared by the Government are not correct. The Government too admit it.

Sir, I would request you to look into the records of the Government. I have got the figures with me which have been supplied by the Government. But I am sorry I have not got the time to read them here in the House. The Government imported 4766 tons of foodgrains during the last year, but 3766 tons of gram were not included in the overall calculation of total foodgrains. I most humbly beg to submit that the facts and figures which are published by the Government are not, generally speaking, correct and as such do not help the Government in evolving a sound policy, but on the other hand, lead them to the wrong conclusions.

Government want to raise the nutritional and other standards of the people in every way. A report was published by the Parliamentary Congress Executive Committee of which I was the President. We proved in that report that there was no shortage of food in the country. We have several varieties of foodgrains here in this land and which are cultivated on about fifty lakh acres of land. There is a very large production of bean in Uttar Pradesh, and people use it in place of cereals. In the same manner, other grains and pulses are used there as they are in the other States as well. Tapioca is found in Madras and so is found Mandarwa. In my district there is large production of gram and people use it in place of cereals. They use other things as well as their food. But all these grains are not categorised as cereals. So, if all these things would be included in cereals, the total quantity of foodgrains available in the country would in no case be less than our needs.

There are no correct statistics about small millet. These statistics cannot be prepared overnight. Had there been any regular statistical record for a period of say fifty years, it could have then be deemed to be correct. The Government have prepared their records afresh and we get our facts and figures from these records. My submission is that all these things will take time. We have not got any past statistics with us and therefore we cannot arrive at any concrete results. What is our fault in it? And what can be its remedy? So my submission is that it is a matter of pleasure that Rajaji has taken a step towards decontrol and I hope that there would be decontrol of commodities all over the country in future. Sir, my contention is that the whole lower middle class has been ruined due to these controls. Poor shop-keepers who are voiceless and for whom nobody is prepared to raise his voice, were in a way, deprived of their means of livelihood. Agriculturists whose condition was somewhat better, used to feel that they have been left without any initiative. They used to feel that whatever they produced was being taken away by the Government by way of procurement. The Government employees too were abusing the Government day in and day out. Sir, those who actually produced wheat used to get it at the rate of sixteen rupees per maund whereas people living on marine Drive, Bombay and Chandni Chowk, Delhi used to get it at cheaper rates. Wheat, which was produced in Punjab, was available there at the rate of Rupees sixteen a maund whereas it was available in Delhi at the rate of Rupees eleven only per maund. These were the anomalies. How far was it justified to grant subsidies and what was the use of such controls? Sir, I am much pleased to see that a step has been taken towards decontrol. Although this step has been taken a bit late yet it proves to what an extent decontrol is essential. Sir, the Government basically committed two mistakes. We know that in a federal constitution it is the State which is responsible for producing foodgrains and for feeding its local population. But the Government of India was kind enough to shoulder this responsibility, with the result that the Ministers of the various

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

States came here and began to say that they had shortage of food in their States and that they required so much of foodgrains; further saying that they could in no way reduce their demands. The Central Government under their pressure had to import large quantities of foodgrains from abroad. This position continued for some time. Last time there was a demand for eight million tons of foodgrains, but when the Central Government declared that no subsidy would be given, the demand of these States at once fell to four million tons of foodgrains. Sir, my submission is that the Government of India ought to have made it clear to all the State Governments that they were no longer responsible for the needs of the States. Under Article 369 of our Constitution it is not the responsibility of the Centre, though they have concurrent powers in this respect. But the Government of India shouldered this responsibility for nothing and invited trouble for itself. The result was that the States did not realize their responsibility and hence the present condition. We launched our 'Grow More Food' campaign but its result would have been remarkable, had an atmosphere been created in the States in which it would have been pronounced the duty of the States as well as of the cultivators to produce more and more food.

What is the present situation? The Government have about 37 lakh tons of foodgrains in store. According to the report of the Planning Commission we require only one million tons of foodgrains as reserve, so that we may be in a position to release it from time to time to bring down prices wherever they rise. The Government have 37 lakh tons of foodgrains at their disposal at present. Besides that the procurement drive in all the States excepting Bengal and Bombay is in full swing so much so that they are confronted with storage difficulties. Sir, the procurement price offered by the Government at present is much higher than the market price. So, my submission is that now is the time to act. Now has come the tide. Out of 400 crores of our revenue 200 crores are eaten up by our defence expenditure and if the other 200 crores of rupees are spent on our food account what would become of our development plans? How would industrial development take place and in what way would education be pushed forward? If our condition remains like that we shall be facing extinction. So keeping all these things in view, I am happy that the Government have taken such a step. They should try to avail themselves of this tide. This tide has come not only in India but in the rest of the world as well. Conditions created by the war are no longer continuing. I do not mind if we may have to import some quantities of food from outside. Let us continue to import one million tons of rice every year. I am not against that, because we too export oilseeds to other countries. Why should not we get rice from these countries in exchange? But it is my fervent hope that no foodgrains other than one million tons of rice would be imported in this country; not even a grain of food should be imported.

Think for a while what would be the results of decontrol. The Government are spending something like ten crores of rupees for running these controls. In Uttar Pradesh alone nine crores of rupees are being spent on it. Besides that the Government have to spend a sum of rupees thirty crores every year by way of subsidies. Ultimately who suffers? It is the poor cultivator who suffers. Sir, I submit that these controls are being kept for those who do not require them. It is the urban population alone that is being supplied with the controlled foodgrains; the rural population gets no advantage from it. You do not supply them with cheap foodgrains and other things, that is why they go on complaining. Hence, my submission is that these controls might have been useful in the war time but they are not so now. Controls might prove successful in a small country like England where the nature of population is somewhat different. But I most humbly beg to ask from the hon. Members whether there is anybody who can take courage in both hands and say that he has not done any black-marketing in foodgrains and other commodities or that he has not purchased foodgrains in the black-market. That is why under these conditions success of the controls is not possible. Hence my submission is that the time has come when we should follow the policy of decontrol. You may feed the deficit areas with the help of the surplus areas and may have regional control for some time to help you. I do not want that confusion should be created by removing controls all at once. In accordance with the biddings of our Prime Minister we should go on cautiously and also slowly. We have taken a step in this direction and my opinion is that it should be followed throughout the country and food should be decontrolled. But we should not do it in such a manner

that our economy might be disturbed. If there is any shortage of food in any part of the country we shall have to send food to that place.

We are endeavouring to make the 'Grow More Food' campaign a success. I beg to submit that perhaps fifteen to twenty per cent. of the amount of money spent on it may have gone waste but no more. I had an opportunity to participate in the deliberations of a committee where I saw facts and figures in this connection. I beg to submit that most of the reported defects in the 'Grow More Food' drive are totally incorrect. On enquiry it has been found that the money spent on it has not been wasted in the manner in which the people presume. My friend Shri Kelappan has read out some figures just now showing that the production has increased. There is no doubt that the production has increased. There is no shortage and the increase in the production is due to the 'Grow More Food' Campaign. There is no doubt that a stage has been reached now when we can consider ourselves to be self-sufficient in respect of food in the sense that nobody would die of hunger in the country; because the standard of nutrition is very low here. While in other parts of the world a man consumes three thousand calories on an average, in India one has to be contented with twelve hundred calories only. Why so? Sir, with your permission I would take a minute or so for expressing my ideas on milk position as well. Milk is a protective food and there was a time when it was found in abundance in our country. Those of our countrymen who have visited Sweden, Denmark or England know how milk is being supplied free of charge to boys and girls in schools by the Government. It should be an ideal for us too that every school-going boy and girl should get sixteen ounces of milk per day. The Milk Marketing Report says that sixteen per cent. of the families in India go without any milk. This is such an unfortunate country that about sixteen per cent. families here go without any milk and even then we claim to be the worshippers of the cow. Our cows give eleven *chhattaks* of milk each per day on an average while in Denmark it is eleven and a half seers. (*An hon. Member*: What about Hariyana?) My hon. friend asks me about Hariyana. I submit with tears in my eyes that thousands of cows are dying in Hissar these days and the Government have not taken those steps which they ought to have taken. Sir, while the Government spent about sixty-five crores of rupees on the Grow More Food campaign, they spent only about six lakhs on the key village scheme last year. I would suggest to the hon. Minister of Food that if he wants to improve the nutritious standards of the people in future he should kindly take steps to increase the milk yield in the country and should pay more attention towards the betterment of cows.

A few years ago cows in Hissar were giving ten to twelve seers of milk per day. But now, we find from the Government report that the average milk yield has fallen, which is a symptom of national disaster. But if anybody does not want to see it from that stand-point, let him do so at his own risk. Sir, what is the condition at present? In the year 1935 the average milk consumption per head was 7 ounces, in 1940 it fell to 5·44 ounces and now in the year 1952 it is 4·7 ounces only; which indicates that the production of milk is falling day by day here as compared to the other countries. Of all things this is the most painful.

Sir, I come from a District where poor people generally take coarse grains for food and drink skimmed milk. But you would be sorry to hear that very little skimmed milk is obtainable in our district now. The production of *ghee* has fallen and so also of skimmed milk. In the year 1935 this country produced two crores and thirty lakh maunds of *ghee*. In the year 1940 it was one crore and forty lakh maunds only. Within a period of five years only there has been a notable fall in the *ghee* production. In 1945 there was a further fall in the production and now only one crore and eleven lakh maunds of *ghee* are being produced. As the production of *ghee* fell, the skimmed milk too became rare. If that continues to be the condition of the villager's diet, I submit, Sir, the Government would have to seriously consider the whole position. I come from the land of those warriors who have earned laurels in fighting in foreign lands and who have given crushing defeats to foreign armies. If the Government fail to solve the problem of their diet today, I say they fail to fulfil their duty. So, I would request the Government that if they are not going to consider my other demands they should at least pay their earnest attention to the problem of *ghee* and milk. If they continue to be indifferent to it, I must say they are not fulfilling those duties which are enjoined upon them. In the end, Sir

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

I would thank you once more for allowing me to exceed my time-limit by a few minutes.

Shri Eswara Reddy: In spite of our country having plenty of arable land, in spite of its having a perennial flow of huge rivers, and in spite of the fact that three-forths of its population constitutes its peasantry, scarcity of foodgrains and famine conditions have been its lot. It was so under the British rule, and it is so under the Congress rule also. What are the measures taken by the Government to get over the scarcity and guarantee food supplies to our countrymen? Leaving aside the minor aspects of the Government's policy, let us take one by one the major aspects of its policy. Let us first take its import policy. To cover the eternal and ever-increasing deficit of our country, the Congress Government began to import foodgrains. And it imported them from Argentine, Australia, Canada, and largely from America. Only under pressing conditions it looked to Russia and China, and that too to import a negligible fraction of our needs. But, for all its imports it mainly depended, directly or indirectly, upon the monopolistic profiteering sharks of Wall Street. As a result, they charged us heavy prices. The freights too are abnormal. These are costing our poor consumers a lot and causing deficit financing also. Why are they squeezing these high prices from us? Are they having only small surpluses? No. 30 million tons of wheat in America is being used on their livestock—and under this 'livestock' pigs and poultry also come. Not only this seven million tons is being used in the place of oil. This colossal wastage is only a part of their criminal plan to create an artificial scarcity in the international market with a view to keep up high prices and squeeze the backward and dependent countries. Having wasted their wheat so much, they come forward to offer us generously their milo. It should be understood that this milo is a by-product of their fodder crop—that is, the best wheat for their pigs and the worst milo for us.

Next, we got the loan from the U.S.A. by way of wheat purchased in America itself, and the proceeds of the sales have to go to the Fund under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement. Thus we are compelled to waste a lot of this Fund on American personnel whom we have to engage according to the Agreement. Now we see the results of this so-called co-operation from America: high prices for our wheat and Milo, high salaries for Americans, and opening wide the gates for American intervention to dominate in all our spheres of life.

Therefore, in consideration of our glorious anti-Imperialist past, in consideration of our needs and interests at present, not only food but also in the shape of getting capital machinery, and in consideration of the ever-increasing international tension which is unceasingly accelerated and flared up by America, I urge upon our Government with all the force at my command to put an end to this ugly American business attended with all sorts of political strings, written or unwritten, implied or unimplied, and to open negotiations with Russia and China and other Eastern countries to see that an international pool of foodgrains is formed and grain supplied at cheaper, controlled prices to all backward countries. Many a time Russia had stated its intention to have trade pacts with India on the basis of an equal footing and with no political strings attached. We have seen how our great neighbour China had benefited by Russia's help and co-operation. Our Delegation to China saw no Russian domination there. Then why not make sincere efforts in this direction?

Secondly, I come to the procurement policy of this Government. The procurement policy of this Government has been a miserable failure. As far as I know, the Government could never reach the target figure they fixed. Why? It is because of their class bias towards the landlords and zamindars. Those who hold large stocks are untouched or let off with only a negligible fraction procured from them. But against the peasantry you go with your police vans, use all your force, terrify them and squeeze all their stocks, not even leaving with them enough to get on for the most part of the year. Most of the peasantry are unable to retain more than three or four months' stocks. Your cruel hand falls only on these people. And at the same time you abolish rural rationing. You force them inevitably to approach the usurious money-lenders to pay soaring prices to the black-marketeers. Even the rules for punishing blackmarketeers are enforced only on petty traders. So, your procurement policy, in essence, boils down to this: Leave the

landlord free to sell his crops to the black-marketeers and loot the peasantry so as to make the black-marketeers profit by them.

पंडित ए० आर० शास्त्री : श्रीमान्जी, मैं एक बात पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या माननीय सदस्य कोई लिखा हुआ बयान पढ़ रहे हैं।

[Pandit A. R. Shastri (*Azamgarh* Distt.—East *cum* Ballia Distt.—West): Sir, I would like to know whether the hon. Member is reading from some written statement.]

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Occasionally without looking into the notes, he speaks. The hon. Member may go on.

Shri Eswara Reddy: If such is your procurement policy, how can you expect the starving millions to grow more food? You make all efforts, use all your force to procure grains at controlled prices from the peasantry; but you are not supplying this peasantry the commodities that they require at controlled prices. That is why even the rich peasantry is not inclined to part with the surplus grains with them. The whole of this disastrous procurement system has to be completely overhauled and put on proper lines. You have to seize the stocks that the landlords and zamindars possess leaving with them only sufficient for their maintenance. Secondly, procure a little only from the rich peasantry and that too giving them a guarantee to supply the other commodities at controlled prices. Stop all procurement from the middle-class and poor peasantry. Take measures for taking over—this is the most important thing—the tenant's rent, by the Government itself, in kind, instead of its being taken by the landlord and sold in black-market. After taking this rent in kind, by the Government, the Government can give the controlled price to the landlord. Take severe steps to check corruption which is pervading the country from top to bottom. Lastly, take drastic action against black-marketeers. I do not like to be as violent as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of 1945 who proposed hanging these black-marketeers. Of course, people, in their experience are realising that all this talk is mere gas. The country at large would be glad if you punish the top-ranking black-marketeers with at least rigorous imprisonment.

As regards rationing, Government policy was decided in such a way as to confine the rationed areas to a very limited extent as far as possible. Even under the British rule, the area under rationing was gradually increased from 1944 to 1947. Now, the Congress Government have refused to do even what the Imperialists would do. In other words, from 1947 onwards, the de-rationed area has been gradually on the increase. Two-thirds of the population are de-rationed. The rural folk, the middle-classes, and other poorer sections of the people are actually standing on the verge of starvation. Knowing full well the scarcity of foodgrains and famine conditions in many parts of the country, is it not criminal on your part to pursue this dangerous policy of de-rationing? Is it not the bounden duty of the Government to guarantee the supply of foodgrains to all people if you are to implement your promise that nobody should die of starvation under your benign Government. I suggest to you to introduce statutory rationing in the whole of India, and to take stringent measures to check smuggling and corruption which is playing havoc in this department.

As regards food subsidies, I need not dilate upon the consequences of the withdrawal of the food subsidies because all of you know that there is great resentment and discontent on this question. Especially, the general workers' strike in Bombay, the Socialists Satyagraha, and the huge demonstrations in Calcutta are some glaring examples of this discontent. If you realise that three lakhs of workers participated in the strike in Bombay, you can understand how intensely their minds are being agitated against the rise in prices as a result of the abolition of subsidy.

I would like to touch upon one point while on this question. According to the Agreement reached between you and America, you have to meet the extravagant cost of the American Technical personnel from the sale proceeds of this wheat. You thought that by continuing this food subsidy you could not meet their expenditure and so, in order to meet the cost of the extravagant American officials, you have abolished the food subsidies instead of satisfying the needs of the people. How do you think that the people will tolerate this policy of starving the stomachs of a large number of people for the sake of these intruders? I therefore demand the immediate restoration of the food subsidy.

The most pressing thing now, one of the most burning topics of the day is your policy of de-control. In this grave situation of scarcity of foodgrains and famine conditions everywhere, when the situation demands of you effective control, you have launched on a policy of de-control.

[Shri Eswara Reddy]

Already with your approval, Madras has introduced de-control of foodgrains. What is the time that you have chosen for de-control? The harvest is six months hence and all the stocks now are in the hands of black-marketeers. In other words, you have given the most opportune time to the black-marketeers to dispose of their stocks at black-market prices. The Food Minister, not satisfied with de-control in Madras, is going up and down the country, to induce the other States also to tread the path of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of Madras who is pursuing that policy madly with some ulterior purpose.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): What is that ulterior purpose?

Shri T. N. Singh (Banaras Distt.-East): Is it proper, Sir, to make such a charge against some person who is not here in the House?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is very wrong, it is not proper, to refer to the conduct of or action taken by any provincial Government in those terms.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): On many occasions we have to criticise the provincial administrations which are under the control of the Central Government. We cannot make our criticisms effective unless we refer to certain aspects of provincial administration. If this rule is allowed to be maintained, it will be very difficult for us to criticise.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: True; but the hon. Member forgets that this is a Federal Constitution and not a Unitary State. There are subjects which are purely within the province of the provincial Governments; there are subjects entirely within the province of the Central Government; there are concurrent subjects. Wherever the Centre takes charge of particular items and then makes the provincial Governments its agents, then, the conduct of the provincial Governments could be referred to because they are the agents of the Central Government and the Central Government could be taken to task regarding the conduct of its agents. Where the provincial or State Governments have exclusive jurisdiction, I am afraid no reference could be made.

Shri S. S. More: I have carefully qualified my statement by saying, matters which are under the control of the Central Government.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is another matter.

Shri S. S. More: Take food.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not here to give a hypothetical ruling. So far as this particular matter, de-control and ulterior motive of the provincial Government, is concerned, the reference itself is very wrong; the term ulterior motive is worse. The hon. Member ought not to use such language in future. A reference to provincial Governments and provincial Ministers is out of place except when they act as agents of the Central Government in any particular department.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): On a point of information, Sir. *(Interruption)* Is it your ruling that we should not say anything against or for the State Governments hereafter in this House?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Quite; nothing against the State Governments, except in cases where the State Governments act as the agents of the Central Government, shall be referred to in this House. Hon. Members will kindly read the rules again and again. The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Eswara Reddy: My time has been taken up by these interruptions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has read extensively from his notes and he has exceeded his time.

Shri Eswara Reddy: One minute and I shall finish.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No more time.

डा० एन० बी० खरे: उपवाचस्पति महोदय, मुझे इस विषय में कुछ बहुत बोलना नहीं है । मेरे बायें तरफ़ जो महानुभाव बैठे थे उन्होंने इस संसद् को एक आह्वान दिया है कि क्या यहां कोई भी शख्स ऐसा है जो छाती पर हाथ रख कर कह सकता हो कि मैं ने कोई चीज़ ब्लैक मार्केट (black market) से नहीं ख़रीदी । मैं ऐसा शख्स हूं जो छाती पर हाथ रख कर कह सकता हूं कि किसी भी वक्त मैं ने अनाज, सीमेंन्ट या शक्कर के लिये ब्लैक मार्केट का आश्रय नहीं लिया । मैं ने यह चैलेन्ज (challenge) स्वीकार किया ।

एक माननीय सदस्य: किस ने यह चैलेंज दिया ?

डा० ऐन० बी० खरे: He has given the challenge. You are, perhaps' deaf. महाशय, जिस पक्ष का मैं हूं उस पक्ष ने गये तीन साल से विनियंत्रण के पक्ष में प्रस्ताव पास किया हुआ है। लेकिन सरकार की ऐसी मर्जी थी कि उन्होंने उस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। मैं समझता हूं कि नियंत्रण से कांग्रेस के जो पिछलग्गू हैं उन का ही फ़ायदा हुआ करता है। शायद इस के लिये ही तवज्जह न दी हो। लेकिन चाहे देर में ही सही और चाहे थोड़ी सी ही क्यों न हो गवर्नमेंट को अक्ल आ गई इसलिये मैं इस गवर्नमेंट को बधाई देता हूं।

(English translation of the above speech)

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): Sir, I have not to say anything special in this connection. The gentleman sitting on my left has thrown a challenge to the House by asking if there was anybody in the House who might boldly declare that he has not purchased anything in the black market. I for one accept that challenge and declare that I have never had recourse to the black market for food-grains, cement or sugar.

An Hon. Member: Who threw that challenge?

Dr. N. B. Khare: He has given the challenge. You are, perhaps, deaf. Sir, three years have passed since my party adopted a resolution favouring the policy of decontrol, but unfortunately that resolution was not heeded by the Government. I am of the opinion that controls generally benefit the stooges of the Congress and perhaps that is the reason why they have been opposed to the policy of decontrol uptil now. However, I congratulate the Government for the fact that wisdom has at last dawned upon them, though it has come late and in a partial manner.

Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha (Gaya West): Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava has tried to convince the House that the country is not deficit, and he has, as an able lawyer, brought facts and figures to support his contention. He has congratulated the Food Minister as also the Chief Minister of Madras for having lifted control over foodgrains. While I join with him in congratulating the Chief Minister as well as the Food Minister, I have a serious doubt about the validity of his contention that the country is self-sufficient in the matter of foodgrains. I have not got enough facts and figures to controvert his argument, but from some published figures, I find that in 1938/39 the total area under cultivation taking only the Indian Union, leaving aside such portions of the country which have gone over to Pakistan, was 167·1 million acres, when the total production was 46·2 million tons. Then there has been a progressive increase of the acreage under cultivation, and in 1950/51 the total cultivated area has gone up to 193·1 million acres, whereas on the side of production, there has been a progressive decline in output, and the total production was 41·7 million tons which means that whereas in the matter of acreage, there has been an addition of 26 million acres, i.e., a 16 per cent. increase over the land under cultivation in 1938/39, there has been a decline of 4·5 million tons in production, i.e., ten per cent. decline in the total output. This has really created a sort of confusion in my mind as to which figures we have to believe and what contention we have to accept.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma (Kanpur Distt.—South *cum* Etawah Distt.—East): Then, do not believe in figures.

Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha: It has been often repeated that the figures and statistics prepared by the Government are not reliable. But generally, we can find some iota of truth in what the statistics say, and from this we can very well gather that there has been a progressive decline in our output. Even if we assume that the figures or the contention of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava are correct, my feeling is that he did not take into account the progressive increase in the population of the country, the expanding demand of the country. I do not suppose that he contends that there has been a progressive increase in the output of the acreage under cultivation. If that were so, his contention falls to the ground. But I am not here to meddle in this controversy. We have got a Food Minister who has just toured round the country. He has studied the situation, and will be better able to enlighten us about this. I think he would throw light upon this point.

[Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha]

The Planning Commission have prepared a draft plan. They have gone, for some time, into this problem, and they have said that the country requires about three million tons, and they have also set the target for 1956, taking into consideration the increasing population, to meet the expanding demand and also to wipe out the existing deficit, and by 1956, according to them, the population is likely to increase by another 50 millions which will, in all probability, absorb at least two-thirds of the increase in our output. Taking this into consideration, I can only submit for the consideration of the Food Minister that we should not be complacent about this matter. We have got to be very, very careful in the matter of formulating our programme and deciding our policy.

This is not the first time that the country has to get foodgrains from outside. Hon. Members know that India has been importing foodgrains even before partition. The situation has been aggravated of late, during the last four or five years, and therefore, it has attracted the attention of the people not only of this country, but of the whole world. But according to experts on food problems including Lord Boyd Orr, food production is not keeping pace with the increase in population, and our pressing problem is how to keep in pace with the expanding demand. We have got to plan in a manner that the output of the country goes in step with the increase in population or the expansion in demand. We have so far been engaged or busy in trying to remove the present food shortage and it is true that at the present moment the country's position is satisfactory, and according to the Food Minister, the present demand is not likely to exceed 1·5 million tons. I am not a faddist who believes that there should be control If the situation demands that there should be no control, there should be no control, and as the hon. Minister has said, control is just a means to an end, and it is not an end in itself. If the situation justifies, then control should be lifted, but I wish to submit for his consideration that whatever policy is going to be formulated, he must take into consideration the long-term demand of food and not the short-term only. So far, the Government of India have lacked a bold agricultural policy, a food policy, and nowhere is there more need for a bold step than in the matter of food policy, and we have no doubt that the present Minister Shri Kidwai with his reputation and stature, will be able to show his boldness and will be able to keep up his reputation. He will be able to give us a policy which will sustain for at least some years to come. And while making his policy I beg to submit for his consideration that he should keep in view the *kisan*, the poor agriculturist, who should be made the pivotal point of any scheme or any policy which he may be pleased to formulate. Without him, I am afraid, none of our schemes is likely to succeed.

In this connection, I may for a moment refer to our activities of "grow more food". I understand the Committee which was appointed by Mr. K. M. Munshi to assess the results of the Grow More Food Campaign and to make their recommendations and report, is likely to submit their report in a few days. We will have to await the report and the recommendations and I am sure the Food Minister will give us an opportunity to discuss that and make our own suggestions and submissions. But from what I know, I think that the Grow More Food Campaign has not been a success. I do not entirely blame the Government for it, but I do feel that there has been some defect in the matter of emphasis. We have placed a good deal of emphasis upon the official machinery and upon governmental level. We have really ignored those who are really concerned with production of food—who are the agriculturists, the peasantry. And without them, without taking into consideration the poor *kisans* who should be active participants in any scheme which the Government is going to formulate, I am afraid any policy or any scheme which the hon. Minister may be able to formulate is bound to meet the same fate which the Grow More Food Campaign has met.

I submit for his consideration that presently the poor agriculturist does not have enough of working capital. The agricultural production itself, if you take it as an enterprise, is being carried on below cost price. Only during the last four or five years the agriculturist has had a good return on his labour, but before that it had not been a very economic proposition. But by sheer force of habit, the agriculturist has been carrying on his own profession. If I were to remind the House, it is not only uneconomic from the point of view of cost of production, but one more factor has to be taken into consideration, that is, the acreage of holdings. The holdings are so pitifully small and uneconomic that any kind of grandiose scheme is not likely

to benefit the poor cultivator. I feel, a great deal of emphasis is being placed upon tractors, fertilisers, chemicals and all that. We have not bothered to find out if it is within the means of the poor agriculturist to afford these. Is he able to purchase a tractor and will it be profitable for him to do that? How many of them can afford this? If it is going to benefit only a fraction of the peasantry who are big cultivators, then I would submit to my hon. friend that he should ask his research department to pay more attention to the improvement of the existing agricultural implements and to see that these implements with whatever improvement is effected in them, are within the means of the poor peasantry, they can afford it, they can find it profitable to employ these implements and then alone the whole scheme is likely to succeed. More than that his particular enthusiasm has to be enlisted, his active support has to be enlisted and we have got to create a sort of feeling in him that he has got to do this and it is in his own interest as well as in the interest of his family and the society at large that he is working and working for the good of the nation. If you create this kind of enthusiasm, if you create an awareness in him that whatever facilities are offered by Government he is prepared to take advantage of them, and those facilities also reach him, then alone any of your schemes can succeed.

The other day Major-General Shahnawaz narrated an incident which is a poor commentary, or a truthful commentary, upon the existing state of affairs. He said that certain types of pests were invading crops in Uttar Pradesh, and the Uttar Pradesh Government circulated a leaflet asking the peasants to use certain chemicals to destroy them. But those chemicals had not been supplied and when asked for, the Government stated that they had not been able to arrange for them; they were not available. Merely by sending circulars and asking people to do this and that, your job is not over. You must see that this thing is carried on, it is actually put in practice and is executed. So why suggest a remedy which is not available at all? Therefore, they have got to have a very realistic approach. We must address ourselves to the real problems facing the poor agriculturist, the poor small cultivator, how he is going to spend more energy, how he is going to afford more fertilisers so that his output may be augmented. For that the Government has got to create that necessary psychology in him.

One minute more, Sir, and I will finish. In this respect also I shall draw the hon. Minister's attention to livestock, the animal husbandry question. It is being neglected and it has been ignored. I find from the report which has been given to us that recently the Government has given some attention to it. A few centres have been opened, but I think more are needed. We have a lot of unwanted cattle which are eating up the fodder and which, instead of helping us in our effort to grow more food are, on the other hand, proving a great liability. More pastures are needed. This is a vicious circle and we have got to decide whether we are going to add more lands to the existing cultivable land or we are going to embark upon only intensive cultivation. Personally, I feel that intensive cultivation is the only remedy. Whatever existing land under cultivation is there, you should try to create a feeling among the agriculturists that they should pool their resources together, do co-operative farming and then alone they will be able to make their agriculture more profitable and economical. They would then be able to purchase fertilisers, improved types of agricultural implements, better bullocks more suitable for deep-ploughing and all that In this way alone they can prosper. If you are able to create this feeling, then alone your permanent and long-term planning can succeed.

Sardar Lal Singh (Ferozepur—Ludhiana): Before I start I should like to say that I fully associate myself with the remarks of Pandit Bhargava so far as control is concerned. I am personally not in favour of these controls, but when he goes as far as to say that there is really no shortage of food, I am afraid I must disagree with him. If there were no shortage of food, why has Government spent about 1,200 crores of rupees in importing foodgrains? Does it show shortage of food or does it show maladministration? In any case the present Government cannot escape its responsibility.....

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I stated there is shortage of rice, shortage of some wheat, but so far as coarse grain is concerned, we are more than self-sufficient.

Sardar Lal Singh: It is also customary to attribute food shortage to the partition or to the increase in population. This is also, I am afraid, more or less a smoke-screen to hide our inefficiency, because the population has not begun to multiply all of a sudden during the last few years, and, secondly, the partition of the country has

[Sardar Lal Singh]

reduced our internal supplies to the extent of ·7 million tons only, so that we cannot attribute this food shortage entirely to partition. The causes perhaps lie in some other direction, which I shall presently explain.

In my last speech I had, besides giving some basic facts about Indian agriculture, referred to the Government report, showing that food production had actually declined from 46 million tons to 42 million tons, so that we cannot boast of increased production. Of course we can boast of a spiral increase in the import of food grains. We started with 16 lakh tons about eight years back when the Grow More Food movement started, and now we have reached 50 lakh tons involving a sum of Rs. 250 crores. As I have already said, we have so far spent about Rs. 1,200 crores on the import of food grains.

Now, it must be crystal clear to a man of even the meanest intelligence that if we go on importing food grains, we must face financial bankruptcy. If we stop imports, then we must face anarchy in the country, because starving people are not going to die without smashing the heads of all of us, or at least of those in power, because they will not take it lying down, and rightly so. So, we have got to be self-sufficient in food no matter at what cost. And it was in this connection that I had made an earnest appeal, only a few days back, that we should treat this subject of food above party politics. It is then and then only that we can diagnose the real causes. I am grateful to Mr. Achint Ram for having likewise suggested a few days back that we should discuss things dispassionately. The Government party is so entrenched with a thumping majority that there is no danger of any cut motion being carried or their position being shaken. So, if we irrespective of party affiliations, talk of these things dispassionately, perhaps some good might come. And my humble submission is, that whatever suggestions I have to offer may be considered on merit and not merely, as coming from the Opposition benches. In fact I would not expect the hon. Minister even to reply if he thinks they are not worth consideration.

People generally ask: "Are we really in such a hopeless condition that we cannot make India self-sufficient in food"? My reply is: Certainly not. We are in a position to make India self-sufficient without much difficulty, provided we handle the problem in a practical manner. The position in nutshell is this, (and those who are conversant with Indian agriculture know) that, although we have got only one acre per person in India, (which is only a fraction of what many other countries have got) yet China and Japan have also got about the same area. And if they are able to manage, we should also be able to manage. Secondly, on the last occasion I had mentioned that our yield per acre is disgustingly low as compared with other countries,—the difference being something like 100 per cent. to 700 per cent., depending upon crops, and country, while our deficit is only ten per cent. That means, if other countries can get such high yields, there is no reason why we should not be able to substantially increase our yields also. Then again, right in India we have, not hundreds, but thousands and tens of thousands of progressive farmers who, by adopting improved methods of agriculture, are producing yields of sugar cane, wheat, maize and rice which are 200 per cent. to 500 per cent. in excess of the average yields of the country—and mind our deficit is only ten per cent. Is it really difficult to make up this deficit? This only shows the margin for improvement. Then again, we have got something like 80 to 90 million acres of culturable waste land, lying unused and awaiting reclamation. If we can reclaim even ten per cent. of that, this alone should wipe off the deficit. So, on the basis of these calculations, the problem of food shortage should not prove insurmountable.

11 A.M.

If in the face of these facts some of us feel a sense of despair, it is because we are not handling this problem in a practical manner and those in charge of this work, not having practical experience of agriculture and not knowing the psychology and the mentality of the villagers, and not able to see the rural problems in their true perspective, are indulging in all sorts of fads and experimenting with their pet theories, which is likely to lead this country to disaster. As I have already said, the problem is not very difficult, but as being handled by theorists, we are likely to face disappointment, and precisely, it is in this very connection that I would like the hon. Minister kindly to listen to my suggestions of caution. He has just taken charge. I cannot say to what extent he even agrees with some of the schemes that are expected to be put into force or about which we are hearing so much. We are hearing of all sorts of schemes.

Sometimes, they talk of birth control. I do not want to go into that. Sometimes they recommend to the State Governments to induce people to grow food in wooden boxes, without realising the economic side of it.

We are also hearing a great deal about collective farming. I am in favour of co-operation. I have made solid contribution in this field. I am the founder of co-operative garden colonies involving an area of 20,000 acres and I was the organizer of the Punjab Co-operative Fruit Development Board. In short I am a strong advocate of co-operatives. But when these gentlemen talk of collective farming without realising its practical difficulties, it is there that I join issue. I, as a practical agriculturist, coming from a village, son of a peasant farmer and who has literally spent every day of his life in the pursuit of agriculture and who as Director had constant contact with agriculturists—knowing their mentality and their psychology, I can say with confidence in which aspects of farming, co-operation can succeed and in which aspects it must fail. And I declare on the floor of the House that the kind of co-operative or collective farming that these gentlemen have in view is going to fail. In fact I may mention to you that we had a meeting in Punjab which was attended by the agricultural officers, revenue officers and even the members of the co-operative department, and they all agreed unanimously that this form of collective farming was not going to be a success. So, I would, in all humility, request the hon. Minister to give a little more thought to this problem before he gives his assent to the scheme or before he puts it into practice, because I am afraid it is likely to do immense harm. We are likely to upset our whole rural economy, if we start some new fad without realising in advance its serious consequences.

Shri B. Das (Jaipur-Keonjhar) : We all agree with you.

Sardar Lal Singh: I would go further. The authors of this scheme may be allowed to select any five villages in the whole of India. Let them make a success of it in those five villages, and then there will be time enough to recommend and even enforce it in other places. I will make another suggestion. Let our hon. Minister call a conference of all the State Directors of Agriculture agricultural experts and men who are actually engaged in agriculture and let them say how far this scheme is going to be successful. I know what their verdict will be. Let us not depend entirely upon those theorists who sit in their offices and prepare beautiful schemes on paper without realising or facing the hard realities of rural life.

Shri Shahnawaz Khan (Meerut Distt.—North East): The hon. Member has said that collective farming is not going to be successful. He has not given any reasons to show why it is not going to be successful. Would he tell us the reasons?

Sardar Lal Singh: I will gladly give the reasons if the House will give me half an hour. I cannot do it in a short time. It requires detailed discussion. I am quite prepared to discuss it with those gentlemen who may be interested in it, and if I cannot convince them, I agree to leave this House.

An Hon. Member: We do not want you to leave.

Sardar Lal Singh: I know that what I am saying is right, unlike others who believe in hearsay. I am prepared to stand by the challenge. Here is a book 'New China' written by three authors of international repute (they are all supporters of communism and have intimate knowledge of China). It says on page 34 :

> "The economic activity of the country is divided between farming and auxiliary pursuits and it is in *the latter* rather than in the former that the co-operative principle is making real headway."

It further says:

> "The most significant economic development in the village today is the mutual-aid-group in which the peasants combine their labour in *non-agricultural* auxiliary pursuits."

And it further says referring to the land and to the tillers:

> "If peasant proprietorship is universally established this programme will run against the fundamental problem that there is too little land and too many cultivators. *Industrialisation is the only satisfactory way of solving this contradiction.*"

This is what even communist China thinks and yet our Government here is dreaming of putting more landless labourers on the field as if there is not already enough pressure on the land. Our solution lies in industrialisation rather than putting more and more labour on the field.

[Sardar Lal Singh]

Then there is the problem of land reclamation. Our hon. Food Minister said the other day that he proposed to take large areas of the waste land and reclaim it.

Shri Kidwai: Where did I say that?

Sardar Lal Singh: When you were addressing the M.Ps. the other day. I admired your enthusiasm and I am in favour of reclamation. But I only want to isue a note of caution. I want land reclamation to be taken up not only by Government agency but also by private agency and I wish to suggest that wherever Government takes over land reclamation work in right earnest, it should also leave aside a certain area which may be given to private agency so that it may be in a position to know the relative efficiency, the relative cost under both systems and it may not be misguided by one-sided version. By this method a healthy competition will be created and both systems will serve as counter-check on one another which will be conducive to efficiency. It is all very well to say that so much land has been reclaimed. But at what price? If you calculate the actual cost of reclamation and place it before this House—I happen to know a good deal about it—well, the cost has been shockingly high. I can assure Government that that very work could have been done far more economically by private enterprise. So I may again emphasize that the work should not be confined to Government agency alone but Government must encourage private enterprise which would be conducive to a healthy competition.

Another idea, that has been agitating the minds of those who are in charge of these agrarian reforms, is to fix a ceiling on the individual holdings. Let me mention here that I am entirely opposed to the system of landlordism, *biswedari* and *jagirdari* and I have no use for such big landlords who do not make the best use of their lands and who are parasites on the land. But at the same time I am in favour of modernising agriculture. Suggestion of those in charge, is that the holdings may be limited to a ceiling of 50 acres. Instead of being slaves of slogans let us see its implications in all aspects.

(a) Is ceiling being suggested in the interest of *increased food production*? If so, then what about those persons who are already engaged in agricultural pursuit on modern lines on extensive scale and who are already producing far higher yields than the average of the locality and who are prepared to guarantee to deliver to Government the fixed amount of produce that Government want? In other words they are already making the best use of land and producing the maximum yield from a certain area by adopting certain methods. Is it desirable to turn them out of the business because they have more than 50 acres holding?

(b) Is ceiling being fixed in the interest of the *agricultural development*? If so, then all that I can suggest is: let the hon. Minister appoint a Committee of experts to see if modernisation or mechanisation is at all possible on a holding of 50 acres. If they say so I am prepared to admit it. But I know that it is impossible to mechanise the farm or to adopt modern methods of agriculture on small holdings. Of course they may argue about "co-operative or collective farming", but I have already said that it is going to prove a myth. Let them prove its practicability in a few places, then I shall certainly accept it.

(c) Thirdly, is ceiling helpful in *land reclamation*? Here again there are lands and lands. There are lands which are worth Rs. ten per acre situated in out of the way places which require reclamation at abnormal cost and there are lands worth Rs. 5,000 per acre near cities and in the face of this abnormal variation, the ceiling or limitation has got no meaning. Besides, in the face of Government policy, even if a rich man is foolish enough to invest money in land because of his enthusiasm, would he not choose a rich land near city which would give him a ready return rather than seek to reclaim waste area, spend several years and tens of thousands of rupees if not lakhs and then finally be confronted (after the land is developed) with Government order: 'My dear, you cannot retain more than 50 acres and part with the rest'? It means that Government do not want the people to take to reclamation of land as a private enterprise. If they i.e. men of means, are not to reclaim land who is to do it? Would the peasants do it? Would the tenants do it? Or would Government do it with all its inefficiency, corruption and with all the red-tapism? Then who is to do it? Is it in the interests of the country to allow lakhs or millions of acres to remain idle as has been the case so far?

(d) Lastly is ceiling being advocated in the interest of *levelling down the differences between "haves and have nots"*? If so, then Government must

appreciate that the total value of 50 acres is going to be something between 15 to 30 thousand rupees. Is it the intention of the Government that none of the people in rural areas comprising 90 per cent. of population should own property worth more than Rs. 30 thousands while their brethren in cities, comprising only ten per cent. population, be free to own property worth crores of rupees? Is this the kind of social justice and equity that our present Congress Government propose to do between different sections of the population? Is the Government prepared to legislate that, in the case of cities also, nobody can own property worth more than Rs. 30 thousand? Is it ready to say that the banks, mills, factories, as also huge house property owned by multi-millionaires, should be divided among "have nots"? Is it prepared to legislate that the tenants living in the houses in cities should also be allowed to own the houses on payment of ten years rent as price by instalments? Well I am in favour of it. So far as I am concerned, I say let us get rid of capitalism. But Government cannot make invidious distinction and treat different sections of communities in a different way. I do not think that social justice and equity permit it.

I shall finish soon, Sir. This is the last point. If nobody can own more than 50 acres, and since 50 acres cannot yield under normal conditions more than Rs. 5,000 a year, it means automatic statutory exclusion of men of intelligence, capital or enterprise or men who are not *sanyasis* but who suffer from normal human weaknesses. It means that Government do not want an intelligent class of people to enter into agriculture. It means that they want to keep agriculture as a monopoly of an illiterate, ignorant, poverty-stricken class of people who live just from hand to mouth and whose votes can be exploited by politicians as and when necessity arises. Well, if that is the consideration, then of course I have nothing to say. If political considerations are to prevail, I have nothing to say. I had to say a good deal, particularly in regard to what Government ought to do, but as my time is up, I have got to stop here and I am thankful to the Chair for giving me time to speak.

Shri K. P. Gounder (Erode): Though the problem of food is receiving great attention I would say that from the practical point of view it is not so panicky as it appears to be. I think there is so much noise and panic about it because you have created a department where the officials have to be active. Our total production of foodstuffs is about 45 million tons annually and as against this our deficit is estimated to be only three million tons. We have been importing this quantity for quite a number of years and there has been no hue and cry about it. Over the past four years we have in all imported thirteen million tons which works out to only three million tons or less every year, but then there was no great hubbub about it nor was there any cry that the country was going to starve.

Coming to my own State, Madras, it is said to be one of the most deficit areas. Still we have made a bold attempt at decontrolling food and the signs now are that the State is not going to suffer by it. If a State with a deficit of six lakh tons can try the experiment boldly, I do not see any danger in the surplus States of the North following the policy of decontrol. If the surplus States of the North followed the example of the Southern States, then the surplus grain from the North could flow freely to the South and together with the imported grains it would help to keep the prices at a certain level.

It is said again and again that if we decontrol the prices may go up. Assuming for the sake of argument that they do go up a bit, what does it matter? Who are the people going to be benefited by it? We have said time and again that the poor peasant is working under a deadweight of indebtedness, that he has been working at a great loss. Supposing owing to certain causes he gains a bit more, is it a matter to be grudged, is it a matter to be envied? And what is the number of these poor peasants and the people who work on the land who are going to benefit? They are about 80 per cent. of the population. But then even the rise in prices which is feared could be stopped if we continue this process of import of three million tons annually and pump into the market sufficient quantities of these imported grains wherever we see any signs of rising prices. That way we can attempt to keep down the prices.

There is another objection to a policy of control. Have we got the right type of men to work the controls? A policy of control may look quite well on paper but we have not the necessary men who can work that policy quite honestly and efficiently as it is made to appear on paper. This results in a good deal of heartburning and criticism on the part of the people. Therefore, while we have been importing this quantity of three million tons

[Shri K. P. Gounder]

annually for a number of years, we can easily continue to do so for a few more years and I think the problem will automatically solve itself.

Under the Five Year Plan we propose to bring about 8·5 million acres under major irrigation and another 7·5 million acres under minor irrigation, which would mean that in all an additional 16 million acres of land will be brought under irrigation in the next five years. Making the most modest calculation, these 16 million acres may yield an additional eight million tons of grains. We also propose to use fertilisers and reclaim waste lands which, it is estimated, would bring in another four to five million tons. Therefore, in about five years' time we expect to produce an additional twelve million tons. Our deficit is only three million tons and if in five years we can produce an extra twelve million tons our deficit will be wiped out and we need not go with the begging bowl to other nations asking for our food. It is possible that we may be able to wipe out this deficit in two or three years even.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to another important matter. Only about 40 or 50 million acres of land in this country have been irrigated—another 200 million acres lie unirrigated. But we use only six per cent. of the waters of the rivers that flow into the sea—94 per cent. of their waters goes waste. If we could evolve a plan whereby all the rivers could be harnessed, or at least such of them as could be harnessed for purposes of irrigation, then we could produce an even larger amount of foodgrains in this country.

It was said again and again by hon. friends opposite that there is no incentive for production because of absentee landlordism and because the tiller is not the owner of the soil. Let me draw their attention to the latest census figures. Sir, 67 per cent. of the people who cultivate the land own their own land, only thirteen per cent. of the people cultivate other people's lands, and the absentee landlords are only two per cent. That much-maligned and much-abused class is only two per cent. of our agricultural population. Therefore, I do not think it is a proper argument to say that absentee landlordism is what stands in the way of more production.

Earlier I had said that 94 per cent. of the waters of our rivers flows into the sea unutilised. It is possible that all the great rivers in the country could be interlinked one with another so that the water of the Ganges flows into the Godaveri and Krishna and down to the Cauveri in the South. You can have one interlinking system whereby all the rivers could be more usefully harnessed and all the lands from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas irrigated. The practical solution of this question might take another 50 or 100 years but if once it is achieved it will solve the problem for all time and we could feed all the teeming millions.

And here I want to say a word about the tremendous increase in our population. According to the latest census figures we are going on increasing at the rate of 14 per cent. every ten years. That would mean that at the end of another 70 years our population will be 700 million. I do not know whether this increase will continue for all time but I think if we were to keep our people at a high standard of living some attempt must be made to put some limit on the increase of our population. If we could do all the things I have suggested, I say no great danger will face our country; our country could be as prosperous as any other land in the world and we could maintain a high standard of living.

Shri Seshagiri Rao: The very fact that five years after attainment of independence there is a food problem in the country, a food debate in this House and a Food Minister worried with his import bills is enough to show that the policy that has been followed all these years is anything but a success. Now I would like to point out that in the entire country there is only one question. Wherever we go, we are asked: "What about our food?" There is absolutely no answer that has been given and the answers that have been given by the Treasury Benches are not at all convincing.

One important point is this. The people of our country have been suffering from this food problem for the past ten years. They have very patiently suffered during the political transition period expecting that when independence comes their sufferings would come to an end. But independence has come. The independence that the people wanted was not merely political independence, but freedom from famine, freedom from poverty and freedom from foreign bread. But every year we are going to the foreign countries for imports and every year our expenditure on food imports is increasing, while our rations are decreasing,

What is after all the source of all this trouble. At the governmental level it is said the deficit is only ten per cent. That is we are having 90 per cent. of our food requirements. If we are having 90 per cent. how is it that the ration has gone down from twelve oz. to six oz. This only means the Government are not able to distribute the grain properly. Is the food shortage due to deficit or bad administration—that is the question.

I beg to submit that there are three ways of tackling this food problem. The first is the immediate angle; the second one is the short-term one and the third one is the long-term one. So far as the immediate angle is concerned, Government has to take stock of the entire situation and ease the existing strain. So far as the short-term policy is concerned, they have to raise or accelerate production to a state of self-sufficiency. In regard to the long-term policy, they should raise the standard of living and see that there is abundance in the country, so that the country may be immune from famines. Is the policy that the Government has been following for the last five years after all conducive to the benefit of the common man?

First of all I will take up the immediate angle. Our problem is that supply cannot meet the demand. The inevitable remedy is control and distribution. The object of controls is equitable distribution of quality foodgrains in adequate quantities to all sections of people. Our Prime Minister said the other day on 13th June 1951 that it is the primary duty of Government to feed the people and if we are not able to do it, we can make very little progress in any direction. So far as rationing and distribution of food in this country is concerned, it has been a miserable failure. The controls which existed up to 1947 were removed in 1948. This led to a sudden shooting up of the prices with the result that controls had to be reintroduced within a short period. The Food Grains Investigation Committee, which was appointed in 1949, observed as follows:

> "The Committee clearly accepts the failure of the system of controls. There is as is well known a number of complaints about the working of controls. One is about the cost of administration and about the quality, both of which are fairly widespread."

This clearly shows that the quality of food that was being distributed was very bad and the common man cannot be sure even of that. Even the Food Ministry admits that "there have been frequent break-downs of distribution, in certain parts of the country for some time". That is the very reason why the people are for decontrol now, because under the system of controls they have to be at the mercy of the officers, most of whom are undeniably corrupt. Under the system of decontrol they will be at the mercy of profiteering merchants. Five years of working of controls have made them clearly understand that they would rather prefer the merchants than the officers. That is how the system of controls has been working.

Now I come to the short-term policy of attainment of self-sufficiency. In this respect the Government has been following some sort of a spectacular policy. What is the Grow More Food Campaign. The campaign was started somewhere in 1941 or 1942 by the Britisher. Because they wanted to take away all the available grain for the Army they advised the people to grow more food. That campaign is being continued by our Government. The Grow More Food Campaign has eaten away crores without producing anything to eat. I shall give some figures to substantiate this. In 1938 out of the available land that was brought under cultivation so far as foodgrains was concerned was 80·7 per cent. In 1949 it was only 50·7 per cent. That means 30 per cent. of the land was used for commercial crops. So far as the average yield is concerned in 1944 the average yield per acre was about 46 per cent.; in 1949 it was about 42 per cent.; now it has come to 38 per cent. If the Grow More Food Campaign is resulting in the gradual decline of the allotment of land for foodgrains and also in the average yield is this Grow More Food Campaign to be congratulated? In Madras this campaign is called 'Grow More Files' campaign or 'Grow More Fools' campaign. There is absolutely no doubt that the campaign has after all been a sort of slogan and had the deserving failure. The Food Minister has more than once admitted that the Grow More Food Campaign has been a failure. Perhaps to cover this up he took to *Vanamahotsava* and *Bhoomisenas*.

So far as *Vanamahotsava* is concerned, in my district out of the 500 or a thousand trees planted during the past one or two years, not one tree has survived, in spite of the fact that these

[Shri Seshagiri Rao]

trees were planted with such ceremonious splendour. Then there is the *Bhoomisena* system. I cannot understand why these *Bhoomisenas* should go to the villager and enthuse him. Ours is a primarily agricultural country and the cultivator has in him enough enthusiasm; only the Government ought not to put obstacles in his way. Inaugurating the first *Bhoomisena* our President said: Of course he was inaugurating the first *Bhoomisena*, but his views were so clear that he denounced the very policy of the *Bhoomisenas*. This is what he said:

> "That Indian peasant might be un-lettered, but behind him is the experience of centuries, practical knowledge of agriculture, which are far more valuable than mere theory. The modern college student encouraged by the results of the latest researches, could learn much more from the Indian *kisan* if he was approached in a spirit of humility."

So, if these are the people who have to go and learn from the peasants and *kisans*, are they the sort of people who should go to advise the agriculturists and give an impetus to them? That is the sort of *Bhoomisena* system we want to have!

Again, there is what is called the crop competition system. I say that all these are a sort of spectacular showmanship, meant more for the camera than anything else. They are a sort of stunt. I submit, Sir, take away all these things and nothing will happen. Suppose all this Grow More Food Campaign, this crop competition and this *Vanamahotsava* are removed, do you mean to say that there is going to be any decline in the food production, or that by these things there is any impetus for greater production? Absolutely not. The philosophy behind this is that the Minister took some census and thought like this: there are five lakhs of villages; if twenty from each village are going to compete, then there will be a crore of persons; if each competitor increases production by ten maunds it is going to give ten crores of maunds; and that is going to ward off the entire deficit! It is this sort of imagination which is responsible for all these things. The other day the Prime Minister also laid emphasis on this crop competition. What is the philosophy behind it? Are we going to doubt the intelligence of our cultivator? Are we going to think that he is not having sufficient energy or enthusiasm to produce more? The very philosophy, I say, is a charge against the peasant. There should be mutual co-operation. What should be done is to give enough help to the peasants.

I submit that so far as the Agriculture Department is concerned, it is a sheer waste. What is the test of it? Suppose today we are going to dismiss the entire personnel of the Agriculture Department and abolish the Department. Are the people in the country going to feel that they have suffered a loss? The average man never felt the existence of such a Department at all, for he never had any benefit out of it. In the last week of May, I suppose, we have seen it in the papers that very bad implements were distributed all over the country. Whenever a cultivator asks for manure or seeds, he is asked to purchase these bad implements also. They were told: unless you purchase these implements we refuse to give you any seed or manure. This is the way the Agriculture Department is working. What they must do is they must go to every village and see that the agriculturists are given the manure and seeds that they require, instead of asking them to follow this procedure and that. It is not going to be a costly affair and it will remove all the confusion.

One more point I have to make and it is this. The system of multi-purpose projects may be good. I am not denying it. But there are certain minor projects which are essential to certain parts of the country. I come from Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema consists of five districts, namely, Anantapur, Bellary, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittoor. In that area, for every ten miles there is a hill, and every hill had a fort. That part of the country was considered to be very prosperous in the entire Presidency of Madras about two hundred years back. But now it is a deficit area. Why is it? It is because the Government never cared to help these parts in any way. There are tanks and wells and also very many, what we call '*kundahs*', that is, ponds which have got into ruins. And the Government never gave an impetus or help in the direction of these minor projects. If rupees one crore or rupees two crores are spent in Rayalaseema to replace these tanks, I am sure there will never be a drought or famine in that place. But instead of that the Government are spending crores of rupees on projects like Damodar and Hirakud, without estimates, and they are going to foreign countries not only for money but also for foreign advice, bringing ourselves into a miserable predicament. It is some-

thing which we are not able to understand.

Another point I would like to submit is this. And it does not involve much expense. If every peasant with two bullocks is given a loan of a thousand rupees, and if every peasant with four bulls is given two thousand rupees by way of loan repayable in five years, I am quite certain that during this period the agriculturists will do much better and there will be enough of production this year itself. But instead of doing these things, all sorts of imaginary plans which do nothing but create only a stunt are followed, and they are bound to be a failure. It is that policy which reflects the views and the needs of the people that is going to succeed. The success of the policy cannot be judged by votes here; it can only be judged by the crops produced in the fields and also by the sort of feeling that the people have got in the village.

Shri Neswi (Dharwar South): I rise to support the Demands placed before the House by the hon. Minister for Food and Agriculture. But before going to the subject proper I should like to introduce myself to the House. I come from Karnataka. I am by birth and heridity an agriculturist, and also by education. I passed B.Ag. (that is, Bachelor of Agriculture) examination from the Bombay University in 1929.

Now I shall come to the subject proper. When I come to the subject proper I am reminded of a great saying in the Bible. The saying is: Broad is the way, narrow is the gate that leadeth unto hell; narrow is the way, broad is the gate that leadeth unto heaven. If I compare the present programmes and the schemes that are placed before the country, I find that we have followed the broad way which has a narrow gate and which leads to something else. But, instead of following this broad way, if we take the narrow way—which is very difficult, we will have to make many changes, but of course the gate is very broad—it will lead to heaven. How, I will prove it. The programmes and the schemes that have been evolved by people of experience and knowledge are all right to look at; they are all right to read. But if I study the question from the practical point of view, I find they are leading us astray.

Because, what are the factors that are going to contribute to the growth of food? Let us go to the root of the problem itself. The factors are land, water, finance, manure, seeds and men. The land is there, sufficient. There is so much land still lying waste which can be brought under cultivation. But there are so many difficulties and procedures to do so. For that, we shall have to change the present executive machinery like anything. There are so many other points also to be considered. I come first to the great and important factor, that is men. Really speaking it is the agriculturists who should be approached and asked the question "What are the conditions to grow more food?" You should ask them their views about production of more food. They will at once tell you: "Give me more value for my produce; I will give you any amount of food". The food deficit today is very small when compared to the capacity of the country to produce. The deficit is only 50 lakh tons. I am told by the calculators and mathematicians that this deficit when reduced in terms of acres comes to half a bag per acre. *Aryot*, who is producing seven, eight or ten bags an acre, can he not produce half a bag more? Certainly he can. But, why is he not doing that? He is not putting his soul and mind into the task. He now thinks, whatever he produces he cannot get more price for that. His produce is taken away and higher rates are not given. So he asks, 'Why should I put more effort in production'?

Several Hon. Members: No no. Not higher prices.

Shri Neswi: Please allow me to go my own way. I am coming from the midst of agriculturists; I am an agriculturist myself. If more prices are offered, the cultivator will put all his energy in the work. If he is assured of more profit, he, his wife and children will try to cultivate all the land at his command. Now, with regard to manure we are not getting as much as we want. Even the artificial manure, though there is a lot of it available in the country is not given when it is needed. The procedure is such that it is given when the time for the application of it is over. If the cultivator is asked to produce more food even under such circumstances but with the assurance of a higher price, he will put tank mud in his land; tank mud is as good as any other manure. Further he will collect rubbish from streets and from any corner of a place; he will also collect dry leaves, put them in pits and make first class manure. I have done it; I can do it even now. In that way, if he is assured of a higher profit, he will use all his means to produce more food. Unless and until the agriculturist is made to put in all his efforts on the inducement of a higher price, we cannot achieve the goal. This is my candid opinion.

[Shri Neswi]

Secondly, we lack the psychological approach to the problem. That psychological approach would be there only when we go nearer and nearer to the farmer himself? What are our schemes today? The schemes are all right. If they are executed they will bring results, no doubt. But, where is the agriculturist in these schemes? All these schemes are over-ridden by the old hierarchy of officials. The administrator at the head, the Commissioner at the provincial level, some other officers in the district level have no rural knowledge. Really speaking, instead of having this hierarchy of officials who have no practical knowledge of agriculture, if you pick up a few agriculturists who have also some knowledge of modern agriculture, they would be able to turn out better work. They will put their heart and soul into the work and make these schemes a success. Otherwise, if there is not this *samarasa*, a mixture in the right sense of the term, the *ryot* may not put his mind and soul into these programmes. So, the right approach must be there.

We are doing so many things which do not reach the agriculturists. Many experts and scientists are sent to foreign countries to study the methods of agriculture there. Here, I want to make a valuable suggestion to the Government. Instead of sending only agricultural experts and scientists pick up typical *ryots* from the villages from all parts of India, and send them to England, and other countries that have made headway in Agriculture. Let them stay there for a week, a month, or two months. I am sure they will come back with practical knowledge and spread that knowledge in their areas. They will tell the villager what methods are adopted in those countries, and this atmosphere will spread in the whole area. Coming to our programmes, there is no rural touch in them. Only people who are called educated people, scientists and experts are on the Committees. We say, India lives in the villages; we say, the rural side must be well developed. But, we are not taking any practical steps in this direction. When we study the programmes from this point of view, I think that we are off the track and off the mark also. I want the present policy of the Government to change. Of course, now it is very difficult to change the executive. Many people in the services have no spirit of service. They simply go their way. They do not hear what the agriculturists say. Really speaking, this is a bar in the way of progress of the country from the point of view of agriculture. Unless and until those who have no spirit of service are dismissed from service summarily, there would not be any change at all. They are sitting tight on their seats and from there preach the gospel of truth like the *Mahavakyas* in the *Vedas*. We shall have to tackle this problem with all seriousness and courage. That is why I say: Narrow is the way; the way is very difficult; broad is the gate; if we follow it, it will leadéth unto Heaven.

Now, I shall come to.....

Shri Kidwai: Earth.

Shri Neswi: I shall run through the various points because if I were to go into the details, it will take time. As a matter of fact, agriculture is a subject which must be given sufficient time to discuss. It is a problem of vital importance to our country, and as we say, it is the back-bone of India. To effect an improvement in the present position of agriculture, some steps are necessary. Firstly, laws have to be enacted to consolidate holdings, which have been fragmented like anything and which are not economic at all. We must have more laws to make the holdings economic. Secondly, the system of money-lending that was in vogue previously has been put an end to. In Bombay, there is an Act which prevents the money-lenders from doing business as before. It has become very difficult for the agriculturists to get money now. Along with that Act, the Bombay Government ought to have established Village banks, Government banks or semi-Government banks or any kind of banks as also land mortgage banks. Setting up of Land Mortgage banks would be a better solution for the difficulties of the agriculturists. Now I come to minor irrigation. Irrigation is a necessity. The land is there; but there is no water, which is badly needed to grow crops. There are two kinds of schemes, the major and minor schemes. The major schemes are long range schemes and could yield results after ten or twenty years and they cost a lot of money, which our present exchequer could not find. If, instead of these major irrigation schemes, we could take up minor irrigation schemes, I think we would have immediate results. There are thousands of tanks lying dry because they are silted up. If the silt is removed, they could hold sufficient water for a year and we could produce crops immediately in the next year. There are so many wells to be dug up. If more money is

spent on these, instead of on importing what may be called luxury goods, we could produce results very soon. We are not making efforts in this direction. We think that minor irrigation schemes will not solve the problem and so we have neglected minor irrigation works. I may assure the House that if minor irrigation works are executed, results can be produced in a year or two. Minor irrigation schemes have so many advantages on their side. If it is successful, the sub-soil water level also will rise up. The water supply question will easily be solved. Irrigation wells will be having sufficient water. There will be sufficient grass and the livestock will thrive well. The question of milk supply will also come up to the level. If minor irrigation schemes are brought into effect, I am sure, we will have the food supply sufficient for our country. Really speaking, I am sorry to note such schemes have not been given due attention to. If one can speak from the experience of Karnatak, there is a Ghataprabha scheme. It only costs Rs. 30 crores at the most. When it is brought into effect and the work is completed, eight lakhs of acres will come under irrigation, and two million tons of food will be produced. That will be done within three years. Instead of spending money on such schemes, we are trying to work out schemes which cost crores and crores, and sometimes even the mathematical figures fail—something like that happens—and they have to revise the scheme. Instead of spending money and waiting for decades to come, for the supply of food, we must take up minor irrigation.

Then, I also want to suggest to Government that we must stop the growth of cities beyond some limit. They are devouring a lot of finance not only of the Government exchequer, but also of national wealth. If you take the case of Bombay, what is the standard of Bombay life? If you compare it with a village, there is a vast difference. Why should there be so much disparity? So, instead of letting these towns and cities to grow up like this at the cost of villages, their growth must be stopped after some limit. The industries and educational institutions must be so spread throughout the country, that it should look like a network of progress. Instead of atempting on these lines, we are attempting to grow the cities still more; all educational institutions, and industrial mills are dumped up in cities. As a matter of fact, the mills and other things must be so located in a congenial area where the raw material is available. That way we must have a definite plan, a revolutionary plan, a revolutionary approach. Then and then only can we solve the problem. Otherwise, it is impossible, I think. But, anyhow, Government is doing its best to solve the problem honestly. They are ready to spend any amount of money, to put their heart and soul into it, and I find in the present Minister for Agriculture a great sense of action, a courage to do things, and I hope the Minister will take revolutionary action and solve the problem once and for all.

Shri Pocker Saheb: First of all, I must thank you for giving me this opportunity.

Well, the food situation is a very serious one, and I do not know whether the Government has fully realised what the situation is, and what the implications of their past policy have been.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazaribagh West): They cannot.

12 NOON.

Shri Pocker Saheb: I would tell the Government that it is not the actual number of persons who are reported to have died by starvation as a result of the policy of this Government, and it is not the actual number of persons who have died by actual starvation on a fine morning or a fine evening as reported by officials or in the press. That is not the test. Now, it is admitted that for the last one decade and more, the people have not been having their food properly. There was malnutrition, and under-nutrition, and people were under-fed. And there is a method of dying, not only by not taking food at all for a number of days, but also of dying because of inadequate food for a long period. When people have been accustomed to a certain quantity of food, and when that quantity of food is necessary for their sustenance, for keeping their body and soul together, and when that is denied to them, and either half or one-fourth alone is available, and that scarcity has been continuing over long periods, well, certainly, they are bound to die of gradual starvation, and, as a matter of fact, if the Government only ponders over the food situation in the country for which the Government and the Government alone are responsible, well, I say, they will realise that there have been thousands and thousands of people who have died of this gradual starvation, and the responsibility for these deaths by gradual starvation on account of under-feeding, and malnutrition, is entirely on the head of

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Government. Now, what is the position? Just before the war, as was pointed by my hon. friend Mr. Kelappan, the shortage of foodgrains, or the foodgrains that were imported here into this country, was only five per cent. or let us take even a little more, upto ten per cent. And what Government had to do was to find ways and means of meeting that deficit. Certainly, I do say during war time Government was bound to introduce controls, and it had introduced control. But it is the mismanagement and maladministration during this period that have made people die by gradual starvation. Thousands and thousands of them have died as a result of of under-feeding and mal-nutrition. And what is the kind of policy that they have adopted? No doubt, they had to introduce rationing. I do agree with that policy. And they had to introduce procurement also. But they were done in such a manner that the quantity of food that was really available in the country was not properly distributed, and the very unsatisfactory and bad manner of procurement had resulted in inducing people who were cultivating foodgrains to desist from doing so and convert their lands in which foodgrains were cultivated into lands to grow other commercial crops.

One very important factor which any man of common sense should have understood, has been ignored by the Government, and that is, in order to induce the cultivator to grow foodgrains, they must see that these cultivators are unabled to make both ends meet and make some little margin. This factor has been left entirely out of account. The price of articles on which the cultivator has to depend for his livelihood had increased twice, thrice and four fold and still that factor has not been taken into consideration, and the amount paid for procurement is so inadequate, and so meagre that it was impossible for any honest man to get on with the cultivation of foodgrains. In fact, I know that so far as Madras is concerned, the price the cultivator had to pay in order to get his foodgrains according to his rationcards, was really more than double the price which he was being given for the grains which he produced by the sweat of his brow and delivered to the Government under the law. The scheduled price which he had to pay was double the price which he was getting for the grains which he produced on his land. How can you expect any man to get on with his cultivation of foodgrains if he is not given sufficient price for the grains which he produces. This has resulted in reducing the area under cultivation of foodgrains in Madras and, I believe, in other States also. Under these circumstances, it was the first and foremost duty of the Government to see that all means were employed to encourage the cultivators to cultivate more foodgrains. But we see the area under food cultivation has gone down very much. This is a very important factor which the Government has failed to understand.

Now, so far as Madras State is concerned, de-control has been introduced. No doubt, that policy is generally welcomed by the people. But I can tell you, Sir, it is not that the people have thought about the pros and cons and have come to the conclusion that it is the right policy which is going to produce the best results. As a matter of fact, as the hon. Chief Minister of Madras has himself stated, it is not by any such kind of reasoning that decontrol has been ordered. He has said that it is by his intuition that he has introduced it boldly. It was a very bold step taken by the Madras Government and I wish all success to this policy of the Chief Minister who is really one of the greatest statesmen of India. He has done it very boldly and I admire his courage. Having regard to the earnestness with which he has done it, I wish and pray that his policy of decontrol may succeed fully and that it may be copied in other States also if it succeeds in Madras.

Now in this connection I would like to point out that in the State of Madras on account of the de-control procurement has stopped. Even then, there are places like Malabar and Nilgiris, which are purely deficit zones. In other zones the deficit and the surplus areas are coupled together. The result is that Malabar and Nilgiris have to be supplied with the deficit quantity by the Government and Government alone by means of imported grains. So we in Malabar are in a very very difficult situation. We have even now to depend on the mercy of the Government, and I hope the Government will fulfil their duty duly. I am glad that the present Food Minister is taking a very earnest interest in the matter. He has been going about from State to State to know what the position is and he is making a real effort in the matter of solving the problem.

Now, in this connection as regards de-control I have to mention one or two

points. One is that this de-control by itself is not going to solve the problem. The reason why people are welcoming de-control is that they are for the present free from harassment by the officials and the corruption of the officials. That was the greatest curse to them. They are for the time being free and so they thank God that de-control has been introduced. But it has to be sustained and in order to sustain that there are two things which the Government have to keep in view. One is that they should make some real effort in the matter of producing more foodgrains, that is, not this costly farce which the Government have been enacting under the name of 'Grow More Food' at the great expense of the poor taxpayers all these years with absolutely no results and which is a colossal failure. I have no time to dwell on that aspect of the matter and I do not propose to do so. In this connection, so far as Malabar is concerned, I would appeal to the Government to see that the irrigation scheme which the Government of India have sanctioned, namely, the Malampuzha scheme, which has now been slowed down, is completed expeditiously. In that case in a short time it will bring 40,000 acres of land under cultivation and will to a very large extent solve the problem. So also there are smaller irrigation schemes which have to be completed, in other parts of the State and in other parts of the country also. Smaller and bigger irrigation schemes have to be pushed through.

I have to say one thing more and that is this. When decontrol is introduced, its concomitant must be that there must be freedom for private persons to import grains from outside. If that freedom is given, our marchants are enterprising enough to find ways and means of importing grains from outside. No doubt they do require the assistance and help of Government and that assistance and help have to be given. Perhaps Government may have also to regulate the purchase from other countries and use their influence with the Governments of other countries from where they can get it. Therefore, if that freedom is given, I hope the Government will certainly succeed in decontrol in the State in which it is introduced now and if it succeeds there certainly it will be copied in other States also.

Shri Abdus Sattar (Kalna-Katwa): At the outset I like to congratulate the hon. Food Minister on his new policy which he is going to follow. In this connection, I like to pay my tribute to the Madras Chief Minister, Shri Rajagopalachari, for his courageous move.

Sir, I had been to my constituency recently where I explained the new policy which our Government is going to pursue. People there welcomed it. Recently there has been a rise in the price of foodgrains in West Bengal. The reason for this is that there has been smuggling of foodgrains into the city of Calcutta, for people there have greater purchasing capacity. The result of this was that in the rural areas the price of foodgrains went so high in some places that it was beyond the reach of ordinary people. Now, if the city of Calcutta is cordoned off and if inter-district restriction of movement is removed, I think there will be no scarcity of food in West Bengal.

Recently I had been in the city of Calcutta. There has been no supply of rice from the Centre as yet. In the so-called free market or black market there has been a fall in price, only on hearing that the Central Government was going to supply foodgrains. From the Press reports and the statement of the West Bengal Food Minister in Legislative Council we come to know that the city of Calcutta is going to be supplied with extra rice supplied by the Central Government, from the 7th July. I hope that it will have salutary result on the price of rice.

I come from a district—Burdwan—which is surplus, but in this surplus area there are deficit pockets. There are persons in deficit pockets who require paddy to feed themselves. The deficit pockets have to get paddy from surplus areas. But due to restriction of movements on foodgrains even within the district this is not possible ordinarily. The movement is not allowed from one thana to another. This causes great hardship on the people. This encourage smugglers.

My district, Burdwan, used to supply rice to Nadia which is on its border. On one side of the Bhagirathi is Burdwan District and on another side, Nadia District. Nadia has been a deficit area all along; even before partition Nadia people used to get rice from our district. But due to restrictions, people cannot carry rice freely. But I admit that the people now get all the rice which they used to get, only through smugglers. If the inter-district restriction is removed, the backbone of the smugglers will be broken.

The people of West Bengal feel encouraged that the Food Minister is going to pursue a new policy and that policy will give them freedom of movement in foodgrains. In West Bengal,

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there is shortage of food in some parts. If we can grow more food or if food can be supplied there, the shortage may be removed. There is shortage, no doubt. The question is: How is that shortage to be removed? By importing foodgrains? We cannot pursue this policy for a long time because that will bring our economic bankruptcy. If we spend more money on the import of foodgrains, we cannot spend money for nation-building work. So we have to grow more food.

While speaking on the General Budget, I spoke on the need for water. We cannot grow food with land only. It requires water. The people of West Bengal and more particularly the people of my district are anxiously awaiting those happy days when the Damodar Valley Project will irrigate their lands. Agriculture is very closely connected with river valley projects, particularly in areas where people grow paddy. The seedlings of paddy cannot be transplanted without water. This is the month of Asharh. In my area there has been no rain as yet. One-sixth of my district is irrigated by the Damodar Canal at present, and in that area people are getting canal water and they have begun cultivation. I hope that day will come when all the lands will be irrigated by the canal water. So, although the Agriculture Minister is not responsible for river valley projects, yet they have joint responsibility and I hope he will see that the river valley projects are expedited and that the Damodar supplies water to the district of Burdwan and to the other districts of West Bengal.

One word regarding procurement. The present procurement policy is not a happy one. But it is a thing of the past. The West Bengal Government has changed its policy. It is going to introduce the levy system. People having 15 bighas of land or less will be exempted, and in the case of those who have more than 15 bighas there will be a levy. The amount has not yet been fixed. I have conferred with the people who are agriculturists, and they are very glad to see that this system is being introduced, and they are prepared to give a reasonable share of their crops to the Government to feed the people who require food.

I do not want to take much of the time of the House. I request once more that the Food Minister should see that the river valley projects are expedited.

It is said very often that the Grow More Food movement has been an absolute failure. Yes, it has not produced the desired effect, but it is not an absolute failure. What is wrong with *Vana-Mahotsava*? The trees which we have today were planted by our fathers and forefathers but we never plant one single tree. *Vana-Mahotsava* encourages the people to grow more trees. So, the Grow More Food Campaign, I know, makes the people more grow-more-food-minded. People at least are set at thinking of the need of more food and that we have got to produce it. A country is not free in the truest sense of the term if it is not self-sufficient in food and cloth. It is the duty of the Government to make us self-sufficient. But Government can only make the country self-sufficient if people do work hard and co-operate with the Government in its endeavour to this direction.

One word to our friends on the opposite side. Last time also I requested them to come forward and co-operate with us in this matter. One hon. Member on the opposite side said that food must not be a subject of politics. But I see it has been made so at least in West Bengal. The Opposition leaders are in a habit to go to the affected areas not to give them food but to broadcast scarcity of food. If there is a fire, will it extinguish the fire if we only say there is a fire? Certainly not. If one goes to the tank and pours water on the fire, the fire will be extinguished. We heard about the procession of hunger marchers. All these are conducted. Some of our friends like to take us back to the 1943 days. I say, that is a thing of the past. Now a popular Government is in power. The Congress Government is there, and not a single man will die of starvation. In West Bengal there might be scarcity in certain areas, there might be high prices in certain areas, but not a single person has died of starvation. From the statement of the Food Minister of West Bengal the other day, I find that broken rice has been supplied at the rate of three annas per seer, and the West Bengal Government has decided to open relief works in areas where there is scarcity. West Bengal Government has supplied free foodgrains and loans in the affected areas. I bring these facts to the notice of this House only because now and then my hon. friends from West Bengal on the opposite side criticise that Government and say that the West Bengal Government is doing nothing and is sitting tight. I congratulate the Government of West Bengal on the fact that when some other Government was not even able

to supply six oz. rice a day, the West Bengal Government supplied twelve oz. a day.

With these remarks I support the grants and oppose all the cut motions.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: I wish I could join in the note of optimism sounded by the hon. Food Minister and the hon. Prime Minister and some Members sitting opposite about the food situation in the country today. I have just returned from a tour of the scarcity affected districts of West Bengal, not of the Sunderabans area alone which after all our shouting in course of the past few months has now come to be recognised as a scarcity-ridden area, but also of other areas like 24-Parganas and the districts of Nadia, Murshidabad, Malda and West Dinajpur. I was not able in the short time at my disposal to visit other areas like Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Behar which are also suffering from acute food distress and food shortages. The position in Bengal is not such which admits of a debate over the policy of control and decontrol. So far as Bengal is concerned, it is admitted by everybody that controls should continue. But at the same time the main problem before us is how to rush relief to the distressed areas. There was a flicker of hope in the minds of our people when the new policy laid down by hon. Mr. Kidwai was announced in the Press that the Central Government would undertake the responsibility of feeding Calcutta and that the artificial restrictions which had been imposed over food movements in other parts would be gradually lifted. But since then we have found that the policy, which I personally think as being essentially sound, is being obstructed from some quarters at least from the side of the Food Administration of the Government of West Bengal. I do not want, Sir, to impute any motives ulterior or anterior to the Government of West Bengal. But the fact is that the hon. Ministers of that Government especially the Food Minister of the Government of West Bengal have been making statements from time to time after Mr. Kidwai's visit and especially since Mr. Kidwai's return from that State which have led to utter confusion in the minds of the people. In a Press Conference after Mr. Kidwai's return, Mr. Sen, the Food Minister, told newsmen that the policy announced by Mr. Kidwai would be put into effect in January next. There was a row in the press and everybody wanted that that policy should be put into effect at once. Then various sorts of conflicting reports began to appear and the other day Mr. Sen said that the new policy would be put into effect in October next So I would appeal to the hon. Mr. Kidwai to specifically assure the people of Bengal at least about the extent of relief that they are going to get and to announce clearly the dates on which the policy—I mean the different parts of the policy—would be put into actual effect. There are several parts of that policy. Firstly the Centre taking up of the responsibility of feeding the city of Calcutta and the urban industrial areas roundabout Calcutta. When is that going to be put into actual effect? Then there is the policy of opening cheap grain shops in the distressed areas.

Shri Kidwai: Has it not been done? Cheap grain shops have been opened in the rural areas.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They are called relief shops. The same are the cheap grain shops.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: The other day he told this House that these relief shops or cheap grain shops.....

सरदार ए० एस सहगल : On a point of order, Sir, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय जरूरी कनवेनशन्स जो सब परलियामेन्ट में माना जाता है । उसके मुताबिक माननीय सदस्य जी भाषण दे रहे हैं उन्हें माननीय मंत्री अन्न विभाग कह करके संबोधन करना चाहिये ।

[**Sardar A. S. Saigal** (Bilaspur): On a point of order, Sir. In conformity with the accepted conventions of all the Parliaments, the hon. Member who is speaking at present, should address the hon. Minister not by name but by his designation *i.e.*, the hon. Minister for Food etc.]

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is no good referring to the hon. Minister by name. Here the Minister may be called by the appellation 'Minister'. Sometimes the name is more endearing than the Minister.

Sardar A. S. Saigal: Sir, we have got the conventions and have to follow those.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: There were two kinds of shops which are going to be opened as per the plan announced by the hon. Food Minister. There are what I might call State controlled black-market shops, that is shops at which rice would sell at Rs. 30 per maund. These shops are going to be opened in the city of Calcutta and the industrial areas and then there are relief shops or cheap grain shops where limited quantities of rice would be sold at Rs. 15 per maund. These latter are

[Shri T. K. Chaudhuri]

for distressed areas in the State. We welcome that proposal as far as it goes but the trouble is that such shops have not yet been opened anywhere outside the Sunderabans. If we may surmise the reason it may be that the Government do not think that there is distress anywhere unless the price of rice rises to Rs. 50 or Rs. 45 per maund. We were surprised the other day at the Food Minister announcing in this House that prices of rice in West Bengal had come down from Rs. 45 per maund to Rs. 30 and 2 annas per maund. I think there is some confusion about the figures and I would request the hon. Food Minister to re-examine his figures or have those figures brought over from Bengal and look into them carefully. As a matter of fact Rs. 30 annas 2 per maund is the latest price which the West Bengal Government claims is ruling in Bengal today. But that is only the *average* price and does not represent the price that is actually prevailing in most of the districts—at least in those districts which are on the eastern side of the Bhagirathi. There the average price ranges in rural areas from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a maund and in urban Municipal areas to Rs. 30 or Rs. 32 per maund and if you look at the conditions that are ruling in Bengal today, this is beyond the average purchasing capacity of the consumers. I need not dilate on this point very much but as a result of these high prices starvation is ruling in the countryside. I can speak from my personal knowledge. I have seen harrowing scenes in the last few days. I speak here with all the emphasis at my command that people are not going to tolerate these conditions, at least the people of Bengal are not going to tolerate these conditions for long. I may tell the House of the conditions which are obtaining in the Districts of Nadia which is represented here by the hon. and respected Member sitting to my opposite, and of the conditions in the other Districts. In my District especially there are two areas where the people do not get rice and do not get even *atta*. There is one area on the Eastern side of the Bhagirathi known as the kalai area, the blackgram area. There the people eat boiled kalai and jute leaves. That is their sole diet; they are able to keep themselves alive somehow on this gruel of kalai and jute leaves after adding a pinch of salt. The other area is not a kalai area, it is a dry area growing no other crops but paddy but unfortunately there has been an absolute failure of crops there and the people are living on what is known as *khensari*, an inferior kind of *arhar dal*, sodden in toddy. That is not even a mango growing area so that although this is the mango season they cannot get any relief from mangoes. There is terrible restlessness there. I have in my hand a letter from one of the District officers. I do not want to mention his name. I received several frantic telegrams from my District and I wrote to him asking whether he could at least, within the limits of his powers rush some relief to those areas. And he says: "We are now trying with limited....."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If he reads any paper he will have to lay it on the Table. But he may give a summary.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: I do not want to put the whole letter on the Table nor do I propose to read it. The only point is that he admits that he can only keep prices low and manage somehow to feed those people and is trying his best to divert smuggled rice from one District across the border which is a surplus district to our district. You have cordoned off our District, there has been an absolute failure of crop, there is no alternative employment for the people, and the only way which the District administration can think of for keeping the people alive is to encourage people indirectly to resort to smuggling. That is the position which is ruling in the rural country side today. I can also speak of Malda. I had been to Malda only a few days back and I toured the rural areas. The general price level of rice there is Rs. 40 a maund—nowhere near the Rs. 30/2/- which the hon. Food Minister announced here the other day.

Shri Kidwai: Have not the cheap grain shops been opened there?

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: No, Sir.

Shri Kidwai: Well, I have received a letter from the Food Minister there to whom I had sent the papers. His reply came only today wherein he has stated that if necessary cheap shops will be opened.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: The hon. Food Minister of Bengal announced in the State Legislative Council day before yesterday the names of several districts where relief shops would be opened and test relief works would be undertaken, and in that list of names Nadia is also mentioned but not Malda.

Shri Kidwai: In Nadia test works are already going on and relief shops have been opened.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: But I am speaking on the basis of his statement. And it is not only the case of Nadia and Malda. Nadia has obtained a

certain amount of publicity. There is acute distress bordering on famine in several other districts like Jalpaiguri and also in that rice bowl of North Bengal, namely Cooch-Behar. I speak with all feeling, with all the emphasis at my command. I speak for my people who are starving, and I say with all seriousness at my command that we shall not take it lying down. I appeal to the hon. Food Minister. I do not want to enter into a discussion over the policy of control and decontrol. What I want here is a policy of immediately rushing whatever relief we can to these areas, and I tell him in all seriousness: Let us try our best to save the lives of these people. A Member from Bengal has said that there have been no starvation deaths. There have been starvation deaths—hundreds of people, literally whole villages are starving. Even now while there is time yet we can do something. Let us not become complacent and let us not think that everything will ease down within a month or two. I therefore want, first of all, the Food Minister to announce the date-line by which the different parts of his policy are going to be put into effect, then the date-line when these artificial restrictions which have been imposed on the State are going to be lifted as also the date-lines by which these State-controlled high-price shops and relief shops are going to be opened in different Districts. It is no use saying as a broad general principle that relief shops would be opened when conditions demand it.

Shri Kidwai: They have been opened.

Shri Achuthan (Crangannur): Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me at the fag end of the day. I was wondering at the statement of the hon. Member from Punjab who said more than once that the question of food must be looked at from above the party point of view. To my mind for the last ten years that was the most important problem that Government had to face. It had to see that no part of India was in difficulty with regard to supply of food. To my mind our enemy No. 1 is food scarcity. That was why over the last ten years, in spite of criticism from all parts of the country for spending money lavishly on the Grow More Food Campaign, on procurement, on subsidy, on this thing and that, Government, not only at the Centre but also in the States, were shutting their eyes and spending as much as was necessary to see that more and more food was grown in this country so that we become self-sufficient at least with regard to the biological need of the human being. And on this I congratulate the Government, though in the process of the campaign to grow more food many people may have played foul or, as the saying goes, made hay while the sun shone. I am very glad that the Department is now going to be manned by one of the ablest of the Ministers. An hon. friend has remarked jocularly that R. A. Kidwai means "Rapid Action Kidwai". I told him he is "Right Action Kidwai". He will act not only rapidly but rightly too and I expect him to do so.

With regard to the Grow More Food Campaign, even though there has been a lot of waste and corruption the speed of the campaign should not be checked. To my mind it is not these big projects that would yield quick results, but the minor irrigation schemes, subsidised manure, supply of better seeds and similar things that will give us quick and good results. I am coming from the Southernmost area of this land, from Travancore-Cochin, or Kerala, and it is the most deficit area taking the country as a whole. We were the first State in India to introduce rationing throughout the length and breadth of the State without minding personal conveniences or prejudices. That was copied by the Centre and other States. I am proud to say that even now with the available financial resources at our command we are doing our best. But I want to say one thing. In spite of our best efforts there is a limit to the Grow More Food Campaign in Travancore-Cochin. The limit with regard to extensive cultivation has come. There may be five acres or ten acres of land here and there, where we can attempt cultivation. But Travancore-Cochin is not a rice-producing area. We raise more of commercial crops and India must be proud that quite a lot of dollar exchange and other foreign exchange comes to this land from the money crops we produce and send out to other countries. You may take he statistics of Cochin and Alleppy ports. The exports of coir products, pepper, tea, cardamom, cashew, etc. are responsible for bringing us a considerable portion of our foreign exchange.

That is why I say that the Centre should not treat Travancore-Cochin like other States, and I hope that the present Food Minister, even though he has not gone to that State—he went only up to Madras—will find time to come over to Travancore-Cochin and study things in person. Let the Minister of the Centre make

[Shri Achuthan]

it a point to visit our State occasionally and often so that there may be a feeling of oneness. I once more appeal to the Food Minister to come to Travancore-Cochin and taste our tapioca and the sample of rice that was shown by Miss Mascarene the other day. I am not finding fault with the Government. We are not in a position to bargain. Because our need is such we have to buy whatever foreign countries give. Even then, I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Food Minister and this House that for the last ten years—and it is a very serious thing—a man in Travancore-Cochin or in the backwater area, has not had sufficient rice to have a full meal. Is it not pitiable? Can there be anything more pitiable?

As I said the question of extensive cultivation in Travancore-Cochin is quite impossible. Only by intensive cultivation and that too by means of artificial manures and fertilisers and minor irrigation works can we produce more in Travancore-Cochin. Even then it will not be sufficient to our requirements. There the deficit is more than 50 per cent. In no State in the whole of India is the deficit more serious of voluminous than in Travancore-Cochin.

Now the hon. Minister is contemplating a policy of decontrol. But before launching it, he must realise that it is like dealing with gunpowder, or an experienced doctor dealing with a sick person in his convalescent state. I say that it is a serious matter, because we have had the experience of Bengal some years back. A national and popular Government should take all steps to avoid a repetition of a disaster of that type.

I do not want to enter into the general question of subsidy; but I want to emphasise one point in regard to the allotment that is being given to Travancore-Cochin. I have explained to the House that Travancore-Cochin with regard to the food problem is in a very peculiar position. You cannot understand it unless you come over there and see for yourself what we eat and how we are living. After the financial integration of Travancore-Cochin with the Centre we had to give up our inland customs. That was bringing us about Rs. two crores. That was taken over by the Centre. So we have to depend upon the Centre for making up the difference in our selling price and the cost price. It is impossible for us there to raise the retail price of rice. The purchasing capacity of the people has fallen considerably on account of the depression in the coir industry. As a popular Government it is impossible for us to raise the selling price. The Centre should therefore come to our rescue. According to the financial integration 75 per cent. of the difference would be met by the Central Government. Is the principle of subordination going to be emphasised and augmented or is it going to be a principle of co-ordination?

Travancore-Cochin was not a State like Madras. It had its own independent status. Let me not be mistaken as descending to provincialism. I want that we must all be one—whether we belong to the Punjab, Bengal or Travancore-Cochin. But the peculiar position of Travancore-Cochin must be realised by the Centre and the subsidy of Rs. five crores twenty-five lakhs restored. Do not grudge in that matter. I am sure the Finance Minister and Food Minister will take a sympathetic view of this matter, so that it may be possible for us to supply food without increasing our retail price and also from not drawing upon our small resources which is meant for other nation-building purposes.

I would like to say a word about fishing. In an interpellation here yesterday, I understood that no amount was set apart in 1951 for Travancore-Cochin where there is immense scope for inland and deep sea fishing. Fish is a nutritious food and a good combination with rice. I think that Bengalees show sometimes signs of genius because of their fish-eating habit. I would request Government not to be parsimonious in this matter, but to make a liberal provision so that we may take the maximum advantage out of it and fish may be utilised not only in Travancore-Cochin, but also exported or transported to places where people require it. People there are very anxious about the food policy. May I ask the question: Is the Government going to remove all movement restrictions throughout India? No. So we cannot de-ration or de-control there. We may change the monopoly procurement system and may have some easy levy system. And we are thinking of that. Our Food Minister is very conscious of his own capacity and he is confident that in regard to our procurement and distribution as small an amount as possible will be spent and corruption also may be eliminated. I agree with my hon. friend Mr. Tandon when he expressed the opinion some

days back that control and procurement have led to corruption and demoralisation—but I do not agree with his too much Hindi *Pranaya* because it is difficult for me even to understand a few words. We must as far as possible reduce the top-heavy expenditure in the Civil Supplies Departments of the respective States and the Centre, so that the amount saved thereby may be much better utilised on schemes of minor irrigation, manure, seeds and such matters which will give actual results which the people can really enjoy.

One thing more. You know that Travancore-Cochin is a narrow stretch on the west coast with high plains on the eastern side, a plateau in the middle, and backwaters on the western side. The rivers are short and non-perennial so that there are two difficulties. They are seasonal difficulties. In the rainy season there are floods and in summer there is drought. Unless major dams and minor dams are constructed in Travancore-Cochin, financed to a major extent by the Centre, we cannot succeed in overcoming our difficulties even though we may spend much for good manure, seed, etc. Government may therefore take note of all these things about Travancore-Cochin. And I appeal once again to the Food Minister to see that the subsidy is raised to the quota which is actually and legally its due. When West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar are being provided with some grants-in-aid on account of their quota of the duty on jute and so on, why cannot Travancore-Cochin make an equally forcible claim? Are you having some sort of different consideration in regard to Travancore-Cochin? When those States enjoy a proportionate quota in lieu of the export duties on jute and other things, cannot we make a similar demand when we are giving a lot of dollar exchange and foreign exchange? The terms entered into three years back in respect of the financial integration of Travancore-Cochin should be respected. I again request that all these matters should be borne in mind by the hon. Minister.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Monday, the 30th June, 1952.